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# BRITISH-CANADIAN JUSTICE IN THE UKRAINIAN COLONY:
# CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT IN
# EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA, 1915-1929

by

GREG THOMAS ROBINSON ©

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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# ABSTRACT

This thesis examines crime and law enforcement in Canada's first and largest Ukrainian settlement--the Ukrainian colony in east central Alberta. Its primary focuses are the reciprocal impacts of the Canadian justice system on this ethnic bloc settlement and of the bloc environment on this system. It deals generally with the 1892-1929 era and particularly with the 1915-1929 period.

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, the Ukrainian bloc directly east and northeast of Edmonton was Western Canada's largest non-British immigrant colony. By the outbreak of World War I, Ukrainian settlers had forged a distinct society in this then-isolated corner of Alberta. Two reflections of this distinct society were unique patterns of criminal activity and law enforcement.

The singular environment of the Ukrainian bloc presented definite challenges for agents of the Alberta and Dominion governments--for policemen and justices of the peace in particular. Just as the Slavic settlers had to adjust themselves to the laws and institutions of their adopted country, so did British-Canadian lawmen and judicial officials have to adapt themselves to "the foreign colony."

The Ukrainian immigrants had a reputation as one of the worst criminal elements in the early-twentieth-century Canadian West. This notoriety stemmed, in part, from distinctive trends in criminal behaviour within Alberta's large Ukrainian bloc. During the 1915-1929 era, the bloc settlers committed crimes in different ways and for different reasons than other Albertans.

The thesis consists of three chapters. The first one explores the experiences of British-Canadian justice officials in the pre-1930 Ukrainian colony. The second analyzes the criminal behaviour of the Slavic colonists. The final chapter examines the Canadian justice system's adaptation to the colonial environment.

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# INTRODUCTION

> *The assimilation of the large number of foreign immigrants is one of the problems of western Canada. All the forces of education, religion and of the laws, firmly and justly administered, will be required to solve the problem.*[1]
>
> --A. Bowen Perry, RNWMP
> Commissioner, 1904

> *In Alberta the Ukrainians are mostly settled in one large compact colony northeast of Edmonton, along the Canadian Northern Railway from Vermilion to Bruderheim, and northward away beyond the river....they form, to a very considerable extent, a self-sustained and partly autonomous unit within the province.... they cling tenaciously to their own language, religion, national customs and racial customs and the task of amalgamating them as citizens is by no means an easy one....*[2]
>
> --Government report on Ukrainian
> rural communities in the Canadian
> West, 1917

> *As far as I was concerned, the Government of Canada, possibly, and the C.P.R. in particular, made a mistake in bringing the Ukrainians in from central Europe and allowing them to settle en masse in the community. Because they built their homes the way they built them in the old country: white-plastered mud shacks. And there were windows in there, but you couldn't open the windows; there was no ventilation. And they didn't get down to talking the language--the English language. They were talking their own language.*[3]
>
> --APP/RCMP veteran,
> E.E. Buchanan

Adjusting to life in a new country can be an arduous struggle. It proved so for the 170,000 Ukrainian peasants who immigrated to the Canadian West between 1892 and 1914. Through their encounter with a modern industrial society, the culture of these peasant-immigrants underwent marked transformations. In the process, sweeping changes touched every aspect of an age-old Ukrainian way of life, altering everything from styles of dress to patterns of social behaviour. One facet of this adjustment process involved the adaptation of the Ukrainian newcomers to the unfamiliar laws and justice system of the Canadian Dominion. This study will focus on how Ukrainian immigrants attuned themselves to British-Canadian justice in the pre-Depression West. It will pay particular attention to the period of 1915-1929--the fifteen years following the end of the first great wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada's Prairie provinces.

At the same time, this study seeks to underscore that the Western Canadian justice system of the 1892-1929 era underwent considerable adjustments of its own through encounters with the immigrants. Nowhere were such accommodations more evident than in the West's largest non-British immigrant colony: the Ukrainian bloc settlement in east central Alberta.[4] In this community, circumstances forced law enforcement to adapt to local conditions. The size, insularity, and distinct society of the bloc presented unique challenges for Canadian officials. Ultimately, the necessity of preserving order in the Ukrainian colony prompted these officials to employ novel strategies, including the incorporation of Ukrainian immigrants into the ranks of the police and the judiciary. The result? A unique style of law enforcement emerged within the Ukrainian pioneer colony in east central Alberta which survived into the 1930's.

The pattern of criminal activity in the Ukrainian community is not a primary focus of this study. The main areas of investigation will be the reciprocal impacts of the Canadian justice system on this ethnic bloc settlement and of the bloc environment on this system. Nevertheless, the subject of crime in the Slavic colony will be briefly explored. The longstanding question of whether or not a disproportionately high rate of crime existed in early Ukrainian-Canadian society will also be touched upon. It is hoped that the examination of criminal behaviour will not prove tangential, but will serve to illuminate the interaction of settlers and law enforcement officers in the bloc. Perhaps fuller understandings of Alberta's pre-1930 justice system and of early Ukrainian-Canadian society will result.

* * * * * * *

Canada's first Ukrainian settlers arrived in Alberta in 1892. By 1894, the first Ukrainian settlement community in the Dominion had sprung up in the frontier district then known as "Edna," roughly sixty kilometres northeast of Edmonton (near the future townsite of Star). During the next two decades, tens of thousands of peasant-villagers from Western Ukraine flooded into the parkland to the north and east of Edna-Star, creating the largest homogeneous zone of Ukrainian settlement outside of eastern Europe. By 1914, the Ukrainian colony in east central Alberta covered over twelve thousand square kilometres of territory--stretching from Fort Saskatchewan in the west to Vermilion in the east, and from Vegreville in the south to Smoky Lake in the north.

Although it had become Canada's largest Ukrainian settlement by the outbreak of the First World War, the bloc in east central Alberta never achieved its full growth potential. If allowed to expand unchecked, the colony might have eventually covered a far greater area of 50,000-60,000 square kilometres by 1914, stretching east from the town of Fort Saskatchewan, through Lloydminster, and well into the province of Saskatchewan.[5] By the outbreak of World War I, it could have become a veritable Ukrainian province in the heart of the Canadian Prairies--a homogeneous community of 130,000-170,000 Ukrainian settlers strong.

The Canadian government, however, had no intention of allowing a huge, Slavic "monster bloc" to develop in its promising agricultural hinterland. If permitted to swell to the size of a potential province, such a colony might have proven to be as resistant to forces of Anglo-Canadian assimilation as Quebec. The fear of the political and cultural ramifications of unchecked and undirected Ukrainian immigration induced Ottawa to adjust its handling of the newcomers. By hook and by crook, the immigration agents of the Department of the Interior diverted most pre-1914 Ukrainian immigrants away from their preferred destination of east central Alberta.[6] To do this, the government created nine other nodes of settlement across the West--primarily in central Saskatchewan and southern Manitoba. Once a handful of redirected immigrants had established themselves at these new settlement nuclei, they attracted ever-expanding circles of kith and kin through the same process of chain migration which built up the bloc in Alberta.[7] Thus, instead of colonizing one gigantic zone around the first nucleus of settlement at Edna-Star, most of the quarter-million Ukrainian immigrants who arrived in Canada prior to 1930 would settle outside of the big bloc.

Nonetheless, the east central Albertan bloc would grow to become not only the largest Ukrainian settlement in Western Canada, but also the largest non-British immigrant colony in the region. In a West which was a patchwork of dozens of ethnic bloc settlements, the big Ukrainian bloc in Alberta was the most conspicuous scrap. Due to its vastness and outlandishness, it became known to most Albertans in the pre-Depression era as simply "the foreign colony." This was an epithet of both grandness and derisiveness.

* * * * * * *

In the early twentieth century, travellers, journalists and government officials noted that a trip into the Edna-Star colony was like a journey into a foreign country. In 1906, for example, English newspaperman Howard Angus Kennedy observed that the Slavic settlers had "put their own architectural mark on the landscape" in east central Alberta.[8] Kennedy found the still-expanding Ukrainian settlement a strange land of dug-out dwellings, thatched-roofed cottages, and onion-domed churches. He remarked that the setting possessed "a picturesque quality" unique in Western Canada.

Other pre-1930 writers shared Kennedy's fascination with "the foreign colony" in east central Alberta. And like him, they displayed ignorance or confusion about the identity of the Ukrainian immigrants who lived there. When the Slavic settlers had first arrived in Canada in the 1890's, they had called themselves "rusyny" (Ruthenians), which many English Canadians assumed to mean "Russians." The Ukrainians, however, had not emigrated from the Russian Empire but from the imperium of Austria-Hungary. There, they had been but one of several minority subject-peoples. Because of this, in reference to the Ukrainian immigrants, some Canadians added the misnomer of "Austrians" to that of "Russians." Others called the Slavs by different names. In Austria-Hungary, the Ukrainians settlers had lived in two Austrian crownlands: Galicia and Bukovina. Consequently, many Canadians knew them as "Galicians" and "Bukovinians." After the turn of the century, when the immigrants took to calling themselves "ukraintsi" (Ukrainians), Canadians remained confused, as they could not find any independent nation-state called

"Ukraine" on the world's political map.[9] In the end, most Albertans simply took to calling the Slavic settlers "foreigners", "bohunks", "hunkies" or other even-less-flattering appellations.

During the First World War, Miriam Elston, an Edmonton writer, made several journalistic expeditions into the Ukrainian bloc which she labelled "the Russo-Austrian colony."[10] Elston, like Kennedy before her, found that its surroundings suggested that one was "far from the land of the Anglo-Saxon."[11] To the female journalist, travelling across the western border of the Ukrainian settlement was like crossing into eastern Europe. The following narrative describes one of Elston's trips into the colony from Edmonton (on which she was accompanied by her friend, A.E. Ottewell) and provides some of the writer's general impressions of the region:

> It was a little past the noon hour when Mr. Ottewell, Secretary of the Extension Department of the University of Alberta, left the department's rooms in the new Arts Building. As he left the city streets and guided his car out on the well-beaten country road you might have wondered concerning anything unusual in his errand. The groups of farm buildings that loomed in sight and faded from view, as the car sped on its way, were the typical homes of well-to-do Anglo-Saxon settlers of the prairie provinces.
>
> Then, twenty, and thirty miles sped by, and then you noticed a change. Here and there you saw groups of buildings that didn't seem familiarly Anglo-Saxon. They were, indeed, so typically Muscovite that they might have been a little bit of

> Russia dropped down by the wayside. The low-browed houses, facing the south, were built of logs and heavily thatched. Many were whitewashed to a dazzling whiteness and decorated in a contrasting shade, some artistically, others fantastically. The clustering outbuildings were likewise low-browed and heavily thatched. Here and there along the trail one sighted a church that looked as though it might be a Byzantine kiosk, and here and there a solitary wooden cross, fence-enclosed and decorated with some evergreen boughs, a wayside shrine. In the door-yards of many of the houses were women wearing the characteristic garb of the Russian.[12]

All in all, Elston found everything around her in the Ukrainian colony "so entirely Russian" that she "fancied herself in Russia." To the writer, the community was like "a remnant of a foreign land."

Even as late as 1929, travellers were still overcome by a "sense of strangeness" in the countryside of east central Alberta. In that year, sociologist Charles Young toured the Ukrainian bloc and remarked of it, "For miles one may ride and see nothing but thatch-roof houses, or failing these, the remnants of the thatch-roof houses now used as barns."[13] The region struck Young as "a little Ukraine" where "old world communities" had been "taken up wholesale and set down" on Canadian soil.[14]

In the pre-1930 Ukrainian settlement, more than just the landscape made English-speaking Canadians forget that they were only a few miles from the capital city of Alberta. In the bloc interior, the language of daily use was Ukrainian, not English. In the settlement, the newspapers with the largest circulations were ones printed in Cyrillic script. Here, in contrast to other regions of Alberta, most settlers were Ukrainian Greek Catholic or Orthodox in religion. They were not Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians or members of the United Church. In the colony, people marked holidays according to the Julian (not the Gregorian) calendar. So overwhelmingly foreign were the customs and traditions of the Ukrainian pioneers that one English-Canadian contemporary described them as belonging "not only to another land but to another century."[15] To perpetuate their cultural heritage, the Slavic colonists formed reading clubs, organized choral and dramatic societies, and built community halls. Charles Young observed that they embraced "attitudes, sentiments and institutions of alien origin and sympathy" and touched "Canadian life only at secondary points and on rare occasions."[16] In the bloc, rural communities and school districts were commonly named after locations in eastern Galicia or northern Bukovina (for example: Buczacz, Luzan, Sniatyn, Kolomea, Szypenitz, Chernowci, and Peremysl). By 1914, over sixty school districts in east central Alberta bore Ukrainian names.[17] Even some of the railroad townsites (Bellis and Myrnam, for example) assumed names of Ukrainian origin. As historian T.C. Byrne noted in his study of the Ukrainian bloc, this settlement was an area where the Ukrainian settler could "travel for miles and meet only those of his own race," where he could live "the whole of his natural life without feeling the need for a language other than his own," and where the English Canadian could not "fail to feel like an alien."[18]

* * * * * * *

By the turn of the century, Canadian law enforcement officers would feel like aliens in the Edna-Star colony. This plight developed in spite of the fact that the Northwest Mounted Police had arrived in east central Alberta seventeen years before the first Ukrainian settlers; the NWMP had established a major post at Fort Saskatchewan in 1875. Prior to the arrival of the original two Ukrainian families in 1892, police patrols in the vast wilderness east of Fort Saskatchewan aimed at maintaining the peace among a small, mixed population of whites, Metis, and native Indians.[19] In the 1870's, a handful of French-Canadian pioneers homesteaded in the Fort Saskatchewan district. In the 1880's, a few hundred settlers from Europe, Ontario, and the United States joined them in the parkland belt directly east of Edmonton. Some of the earliest agricultural settlers in the region were discharged NWMP men--Harry Belcher, John Gordon and David McGall among others.[20]

Between 1892 and 1896, the mounted police had little contact with the Ukrainian settlers of east central Alberta. The first pioneers from Galicia did not attract the official scrutiny of the Northwest Mounted Police. Language and cultural barriers made the first encounters between mounties and Slavs awkward and kept them infrequent. Men at the Fort Saskatchewan divisional post conducted a few cursory patrols of the areas inhabited by the eastern European immigrants, but, on the whole, had little to do with the pioneers. Prior to 1896, the NWMP did not maintain a permanent outpost in the Ukrainian settlement, although the force did experiment with a couple of seasonal, one-man detachments on the edge of the settlement frontier at Beaver Lake (the future Star district) and Egg Lake (the future Andrew district).

In 1897, the NWMP established its first permanent rural detachment in the Ukrainian settlement at Mole Lake (in what came to be known as the Wostok district). Corporal George Butler set up the outpost on the farm of ex-mountie Harry Belcher. Belcher's sod-roofed shack served as the police office.[21] John Krebs, a German settler from Galicia, worked as Butler's interpreter. In his first months on detachment, the corporal busied himself with informal patrols and the distribution of low-grade flour among the most destitute Ukrainian pioneer families. This provision of relief brought Butler and the NWMP into conflict with immigration officials and led to the closure of the Mole Lake detachment. The Department of the Interior charged that the mounted police force was undermining the ministry's work by coddling the Slavic settlers and making them dependent on handouts. As a result, the Dominion government forced the NWMP to quit the foreign colony in 1898. It did not allow the mounties to return for three years.[22]

When the Northwest Mounted Police reentered the Ukrainian bloc, they immediately established two outposts at the communities of Star and Whitford. Both detachments were manned by a single constable from the NWMP's "G" Division. The division's headquarters was located on the western edge of the colony at the town of Fort Saskatchewan. In 1901, there were thirty mounties stationed at this command centre: a superintendent, an inspector, three staff sergeants, one corporal, twenty-one constables, and two special constables. Another thirty-two men from "G" Division, primarily detachment constables, were scattered across an enormous territory, east, west, north and south of Fort Saskatchewan.[23] The division patrolled a vast area, "extending from the Red Deer River on the south to the Arctic Ocean on the north, including in that area the Athabasca, Peace and Mackenzie rivers."[24] In 1901, it operated ten frontier detachments within this expanse--including the ones at Star and Whitford in east central Alberta.

In 1901, NWMP Inspector Strickland noted of the Ukrainian bloc: "A much larger force is required in the district, for as the settlement increases, the police are called upon at every hand, and disputes and grievances, however small, are brought to us to settle."[25] Three years later, Strickland reported that "G" Division found it "extremely difficult" with the few men in his command "to keep a continual supervision and have the districts patrolled" in east central Alberta.[26] As new rural communities rapidly sprouted along the edge of the expanding Ukrainian settlement, the work load of the two bloc policemen increased enormously.

To relieve the strain on the overtaxed constables of the bloc, the mounted police established several new outposts within the Ukrainian colony in the decade preceding the outbreak of World War I. New detachments took root at Vegreville, Saddle Lake, Brosseau, Vermilion, St. Paul des Metis, and Andrew. In 1909, the RNWMP[27] moved its "G" Division headquarters from Fort Saskatchewan to Edmonton. For the next four years, however, the garrison at the old divisional post remained larger than the one in Alberta's capital city. Then, in 1913, the mounted police vacated the historic post and turned the site over to the provincial government which planned to construct a jail there. The mounted police, though, did not abandon the town of Fort Saskatchewan altogether. They opened a new two-man detachment in the townsite to continue the routine policing of the surrounding district.

During the 1900-1914 period, the mounted police in east central Alberta experienced the same erosion of effectiveness suffered by their cohorts in other parts of the Canadian Northwest. In 1912, A.R. Cuthbert, Superintendent of "G" Division, noted in his annual report to the RNWMP

Commissioner that crime in his area of jurisdiction had been steadily increasing, "following naturally upon the increase of population."[28] He warned that the strength of his division was insufficient to "keep pace with the changing conditions" and to "effectively deal with crime and vice."[29] Given the huge size of "G" Division and the paucity of police within it, Cuthbert complained that it was "impossible to give prompt attention to complaints," the result being "detrimental to the best interests of the public."[30] Although sympathetic towards the problems of "G" Division, the RNWMP Commissioner was powerless to end the crisis in law enforcement in east central Alberta. In fact, with the outbreak of the Great War, the policing of the Ukrainian bloc settlement region would take a turn for the worse.

In 1914, there were more mounted police detachments in the Ukrainian settlement than ever before. Yet, in the years between 1901 and 1914, the government had dramatically reduced the actual number of mounties in the colony. In 1901, there had been thirty-two policemen stationed within the bloc region--primarily at Fort Saskatchewan.[31] By 1914, police officers in the bloc numbered only eight.[32] There were two-man detachments at Fort Saskatchewan, Vermilion and St. Paul. One-man police posts existed in the town of Vegreville and the hamlet of Andrew.

The First World War dramatically increased the pressures on the already overtaxed mounted police force in east central

Alberta. In addition to their extensive list of regular duties, the Canadian government assigned the RNWMP war-related security work, including the registration of immigrants from enemy countries. When Great Britain and Canada declared war on Austria-Hungary in 1914, the Canadian government proclaimed tens of thousands of Ukrainian immigrants from Galicia and Bukovina to be "enemy aliens." As a result, the government placed several thousand Ukrainian Canadians in internment camps and required all unnaturalized Ukrainian emigrants from the two Austrian crownlands to report on a regular basis to the nearest police post.[33] Given the multitude of such persons in the east central Albertan bloc, the registration of enemy aliens there proved to be a particularly onerous duty. The bloc police also busied themselves with another new wartime chore: the confiscation of firearms in the possession of enemy aliens; any unnaturalized Ukrainian immigrant was subject to imprisonment if caught in possession of any type of gun. Finally, additional work fell to the RNWMP with the passing of new prohibition legislation. Enforcement of the liquor laws was to prove virtually impossible for the detachment constables of the bloc. The erosion of manpower combined with crushing new responsibilities would bring law enforcement in the bloc to its lowest ebb.

In 1917, the demands of war forced the Canadian federal government to discontinue the contract which provided Alberta with the services of the RNWMP.[34] In the spring of 1917, a new provincial police force, the Alberta Provincial Police, assumed the duties of the mounted police in rural Alberta--including the zone east and northeast of Edmonton. Unfortunately, the APP had considerably less manpower than even Alberta's overworked mounties had been able to draw upon. In its first year of existence, the APP had a total staff of 155 policemen (officers, non-commissioned officers, and men) in seventy-four detachments to perform routine police duties in the Albertan countryside.[35] In comparison, the RNWMP had deployed 304 men, at five divisional centres and ninety-seven detachments, to execute the same function in 1914.[36]

The APP operated in Alberta from 1917 to 1932. The force was divided into five divisions. "A" Division covered the central region of the province--including the Ukrainian colony in east central Alberta. The area of the division's jurisdiction was approximately 100,000 square miles. During its brief history, the APP operated nine detachments in the Ukrainian colony: Fort Saskatchewan (1917-32), St. Paul des Metis (1917-32), Vegreville (1917-32), Vermilion (1917-32), Andrew (1917-28), Smoky Lake (1920-32), Lamont (1922-32), Willingdon (1928-32), and Two Hills (1930-32). The posts at Andrew, Smoky Lake, Willingdon, and Two Hills were in the homogeneously-Ukrainian interior of the colony. The other detachments were located in more ethnically-diverse communities on the periphery of the bloc.

During the early days of Ukrainian settlement in east central Alberta, commissioned officers of the mounted police served as justices of the peace for most trials of summary cases. The government did appoint civilian JPs, but only a few of these appointees proved disposed to taking cases before 1900.[37] After the turn of the century, it became more common for the civilian JPs (who were usually farmers or storekeepers) to preside at trials of minor offenses and at preliminary hearings of indictable offenses.

Throughout the 1892-1930 era, more serious cases would be handled by police magistrates or judges. Trials sometimes took place at courtrooms in St. Paul, Vegreville, or Fort Saskatchewan, but, more frequently, in the city of Edmonton.[38] Few of the police magistrates and none of the judges who handled cases from the Ukrainian colony resided in the bloc region.

The final component of the Canadian criminal justice system in east central Alberta during the 1892-1929 era was the prison network. Prior to 1930, police detachments in the Ukrainian colony featured small jail cells constructed of wood or steel. A townsite which did not have a mounted police or APP post would sometimes install a small holding cell in its community hall, fire hall, or municipal office. This local network of roughly a dozen jail cells in the Ukrainian settlement served as a feeder system for provincial and federal prisons located on the edge of the colony and beyond its borders. In police detachments and municipal jails, prisoners would only be kept for a few hours or days before being escorted to these larger facilities or set free.[39]

In the early days of the Ukrainian colony, male prisoners serving short sentences were sent to the "G" Division (mounted police) guardroom at Fort Saskatchewan. This guardroom was used as a common jail and accommodated a small number of inmates in spartan conditions. In 1910, an expansion increased the number of cells at this inadequate facility to thirty-two. Shortly thereafter, when the government built a provincial jail in southern Alberta at the town of Lethbridge, "G" Division relieved overcrowding in its guardroom by transferring some of its prisoners south. This solution, however, was only a temporary one. The northern half of the province desperately required a larger facility for petty offenders.

Consequently, in September 1914, the Alberta government purchased the site of the RNWMP divisional post at Fort Saskatchewan, intending it for use as a second provincial jail. Shortly after this acquisition, the government constructed a new prison building on the property: the Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol. This greatly improved accommodations for prisoners from central and northern Alberta. During the 1915-1929 period, male offenders from the Ukrainian bloc who received prison terms of less than two years served their time at Fort Saskatchewan.[40] In the 1920's, the east central Albertan gaol accommodated approximately two hundred inmates. At the institution, prisoners worked farm land adjacent to the prison or busied themselves with chores in the gaol building. Prior to the spring of 1918, female convicts from the bloc with jail terms of less than two years did their time at the women's prison at Fort Macleod, Alberta. When the Alberta government opened a cell block for women at Fort Saskatchewan in April 1918, the courts began to send female offenders from the Ukrainian colony to this facility.

In the 1892-1905 era, convicts from the bloc who had been sentenced to prison terms of two years or more were escorted to the federal penitentiary at Stony Mountain, Manitoba or the one at New Westminster, British Columbia. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory, so the Dominion government constructed the Alberta Penitentiary in the city of Edmonton in 1904-05. During the 1906-1920 period, all convicts from east central Alberta with sentences of two or more years served their time in this facility. At Edmonton, inmates did hard labour in coal mines along the North Saskatchewan River. In April 1920, the federal authorities closed this prison and transferred the prisoners to the Saskatchewan Penitentiary at Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. Throughout the 1920's, east central Albertans convicted of serious offenses made the 409-mile trip from Edmonton to Prince Albert. During the decade, the Alberta government regularly petitioned Dominion officials for the construction of a new federal prison in its province. These requests, however, met with deafness in Ottawa.

# CHAPTER I

# THE OUTSIDERS:
# BRITISH-CANADIAN OFFICIALS IN THE UKRAINIAN BLOC SETTLEMENT

> *We know the English would like to make us all alike, like the five fingers on a hand; but this is a very difficult thing.*[1]
>
> --Ukrainian-Canadian settler, 1916

> *The province of Alberta owing to its cosmopolitan population is hard to police, alien settlements being scattered all over it. These people, banded together as they are, and in a good many instances retaining the customs and mode of life they lived in their own countries before coming to Canada, are not as yet educating themselves with regard to the laws of this country.*[2]
>
> --W.C. Bryan, Superintendent of the Alberta Provincial Police Force, 1921

> *In Alberta, during the 1920's, the toughest area for a policeman to work was possibly the area northeast of Edmonton between Smoky Lake and St. Paul.*[3]
>
> --E.E. Buchanan, APP/RCMP veteran

> *To understand a primitive people is a much more subtle and nerve-racking job than association with those who share more nearly our own temperament, traditions, and type of intelligence.*[4]
>
> --Robert England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada (1929)

British Canadians constituted only a small minority in the pre-1930 Ukrainian colony. Nevertheless, they occupied virtually every position of rank and authority in the community. They especially preponderated among the personnel of the bloc's justice system. Almost all of the policemen and judicial officials who served in the colony were Britishers who hailed from outside of east central Alberta.

The Dominion and Alberta governments charged these Anglo-Saxons with the transplantation of the criminal justice system of English Canada to the Slavic settlement. This task proved to be a difficult and delicate process. Throughout the 1892-1929 era, the roots of British-Canadian justice remained shallow in the alien soil of the Ukrainian colony. The Anglo-Saxon officials' hold on the bloc settlers would be just as tenuous.

* * * * * * *

The British-Canadian justice officials who served in the Ukrainian colony can be divided into two classes: those who lived on the more ethnically-heterogeneous borders of the bloc and those who inhabited the homogeneously-Ukrainian bloc interior. On the periphery of the Ukrainian colony (in townsites such as Fort Saskatchewan, Vegreville and Vermilion), Britishers who served as municipal policemen, detachment constables, justices of the peace, and police magistrates could take comfort in the relative familiarity of their environment; they lived in towns where the majority of the population was Anglo-Saxon. While their duties often brought them into contact with Ukrainian settlers, they did not sense that they were inhabitants of an environment dominated by foreigners. On the town streets of pre-1930 Vegreville, for example, the Ukrainian was still the alien. When circumstances brought officials into the centre of the Ukrainian colony, however, the tables were turned. Here, the Anglo-Saxon became the conspicuous stranger.

For the British-Canadian policeman placed on detached duty in the heart of the Ukrainian settlement (at Andrew, Willingdon, or Smoky Lake, for example), the alien nature of his everyday environment was overwhelming. The countryside around the detachments of the bloc interior was a vast sea of Ukrainian farmsteads. In the core of the colony, even the townsites featured large Ukrainian populations. Here, the detachment man sometimes felt more like an occupying soldier serving in an expeditionary force in central Europe than a regular constable serving in a Canadian police force in middle Alberta.

In the Canadian West of the early-twentieth century, a detachment in the bloc settlement was not a choice posting for an Anglo-Canadian constable. In the first place, no mountie or provincial policeman desired to be sent to a rural backwater like Smoky Lake or Andrew. The fact that such locales were "crawling with foreigners" only lessened their appeal for the lawman. On the social ladder of pre-1930 Alberta, Ukrainians were relegated to one of the bottom-most rungs (just one step above the most-reviled Indians, Asians and Blacks).[5] Consequently, to the average mountie or APP man, the job of policing the "hunkies" had all the allure of the chore of escorting mental patients to the provincial asylum; he considered it a wretched tour of duty. Ultimately, though, commanding officers at police headquarters decided a constable's placement. One went where one was sent.

There has been some speculation that both the mounted police and the Alberta Provincial Police sent only inexperienced, incompetent, or unpopular personnel into the Ukrainian colony. This speculation does not appear to accurately reflect the policy of either the NWMP/RNWMP or the APP.

As a rule, both the mounted and provincial police forces assigned only experienced men to detachment work in the bloc. When they dispatched newly-enlisted members to east central Alberta, they placed these recruits under the supervision of an experienced constable, corporal or sergeant. This was seen as a reinforcement and extension of the rookie's brief period of initial training. Certainly, the bloc settlement received its fair share of raw police recruits, but no more than its fair share.

Nonetheless, some controversial and/or unsavoury characters served on detachment in the bloc. For example, evidence suggests that Bill Reay, a provincial policeman stationed at Andrew and Willingdon, was a partner in a moonshining ring.[6] Another constable of dubious character, Serge Zolotoohin (a Russian immigrant who used the influence of a prominent

Edmontonian to gain admission into the Alberta Provincial Police), served at the Smoky Lake and St. Paul detachments in east central Alberta. In Zolotoohin's two years of service with the APP in the late 1920's, "A" Division headquarters reprimanded him for a variety of breaches of discipline--including being drunk while in uniform and on duty, keeping his barracks in a condition contrary to the discipline of the APP, being absent without leave from his detachment command, and failing to keep up detachment books and reports. In 1929, Zolotoohin deserted from the provincial police force and escaped prosecution for theft and desertion by moving to British Columbia and living there under an assumed name.[7] More sinister was John Woods, an APP constable stationed at Vegreville, who raped at least one Ukrainian woman in his rural patrol district. In May of 1925, the APP discharged Woods for several incidents of unbecoming conduct. When Woods learned that he might also face criminal charges for his transgressions, he abandoned his wife at Edmonton and absconded to Detroit, Michigan.[8] It is plain, then, that some bloc policemen had less than exemplary records.

Other bloc lawmen, however, had very distinguished careers with the NWMP/RNWMP/RCMP and APP. For instance, Constable Bill Buchanan, who served at the Andrew and Smoky Lake detachments, went on to become an Inspector with the RCMP. His brother, Ted Buchanan, who had a short stint at the Smoky Lake detachment and a longer placement at the St.

Paul post, also became a RCMP officer and would be appointed Inspector of Gaols for the province of Alberta. J.D. Nicholson, who functioned as a constable at Vegreville, went on to become Chief of Detectives for the Province of Alberta and Assistant Superintendent of the APP. J.H. Sacker rose to the rank of corporal and then to that of sergeant while stationed in the Ukrainian settlement. Constable John James, who worked at the bloc posts in Andrew and Lamont, became a police detective. Constable Harry Allen of St. Paul achieved the rank of police sergeant. This information leads one to conclude that the Ukrainian colony was not used as mere dumping ground for the deadwood of the NWMP/RNWMP and APP. When the records of all of the policemen who served in the bloc are considered, the large majority of good records overshadows the small minority of poor ones.

What were the backgrounds of the detachment policemen who served in the Ukrainian pioneer settlement prior to 1930? Nearly all were of British extraction and many were emigrants from Great Britain. The majority had worked at other jobs prior to becoming law enforcement officers. For instance, Arthur Nalder was a farmer before joining the RNWMP; so, too, was John James. Previous to becoming a mountie and provincial policeman, Bill Buchanan earned his daily bread as a store clerk in Edmonton. His brother Ted Buchanan worked at a meat packing plant and a building supply store before enlisting in the APP. Constable Otto Farthing had been employed as a motor mechanic. Bill Reay had been a cobbler, Cliff Gair an oil-field worker. Samuel McPherson once earned his living as a drayman and chauffeur. J.H. Sacker laboured as a builder and jail guard at the Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol for two years prior to his engagement with the RNWMP. Most of the provincial policemen who served on detachment in the Ukrainian colony between 1917 and 1929 were ex-RNWMP men, veterans of the Great War, or both. One constable, E.M. Curry, had previous police experience as a member of the South African Constabulary.

Few policemen, however, had a background which prepared them for work in the bloc settlement. A few notable exceptions aside, the lawmen who served in east central Alberta arrived there without the slightest knowledge of the language, culture, or history of the Ukrainian settlers. This was a serious handicap. For a man serving on detachment in a community like Andrew or Smoky Lake, the inability to communicate with most of the residents in his patrol district made policing extremely difficult. Ignorance of the culture and history of the immigrant population made the social dynamics and factional tensions of the Ukrainian community incomprehensible. The typical British-Canadian lawman had difficulty overcoming these impediments because his anti-Slav prejudices precluded the befriending of the bloc settlers.

Uncomfortable around the immigrants, and frustrated by the inability to converse with them directly, newly-arrived policemen in the bloc simply tried to avoid the Slavs as much as possible. Initially, the lawmen limited their activities in Ukrainian rural communities to cursory patrols and the drafting of reports updating the economic progress of the bloc settlers. Significant contact between policeman and immigrant took place only when a crime had been discovered or reported. Even then, dialogue between the Anglo-Saxon official and the Ukrainian settlers remained brief and businesslike. During an investigation, the lawman focused on the matter at hand and neglected the sociability which leads to a higher plane of mutual understanding between persons of two different cultures. The policeman usually communicated through an interpreter who extracted the required information from the Slavic settlers as quickly as possible.

Occasionally, allegations that epidemics of disease and crime were rampant in the Ukrainian colony prompted more in-depth investigations. In 1899, for instance, Frank Oliver, owner of the Edmonton Bulletin newspaper and Member of Parliament for Edmonton, publicly claimed that a wave of crime and a plague of smallpox were sweeping over the bloc and threatening surrounding communities. The NWMP investigated the accusations, but discovered no evidence of a crime spree and found that the smallpox scourge was nothing more than two immigrant boys with the measles.[9]

All things considered, contact between the mounted police and the Ukrainian settlers in east central Alberta remained superficial throughout the 1892-1914 era. During this period, the shadow of a mounted policeman did not even darken some isolated sectors of the bloc settlement. Years after arriving in Canada, many Ukrainian settlers had still not encountered a Canadian mountie. When a RNWMP constable finally appeared in one rural community, his uniform was so unfamiliar to the farmers there that one of them mistook him for a salesman from the Singer Sewing Machine Company who was due to visit the district.[10]

* * * * * * *

Much of the blame for the lack of contact between policemen and settlers in the Ukrainian colony can be attributed to the enormous patrol areas of the lawmen. Due to a shortage of manpower in the both the RNWMP and the APP during the 1915-1929 period, detachment constables in east central Alberta patrolled vast tracts of parkland. The problem of the huge patrol area was one inherited from the NWMP, who had been prevented from carrying on an effective rural patrol system since the turn of the century. It was not that the constables stayed in their detachment offices all day; on the contrary, they spent most of their time on the road investigating cases, serving summonses, attending court, or escorting prisoners. The problem was that each man had too much work to do, too much territory to cover.

In the early 1920's, for example, the seventeen detachments of the APP's "A" Division, including those in east central Alberta, covered 99,360 square miles of territory.[11] In the bloc region, the patrol area assigned to a single constable ranged from 1100 to 7600 square miles of parkland.[12] Prior to the establishment of the APP detachment at Smoky Lake in November 1920, two men at Andrew covered over 3000 square miles; subsequently, the one constable who remained at Andrew covered 1104 square miles while the one transferred to Smoky Lake patrolled 1960 square miles. In 1923, a single lawman at the Lamont police post policed an area of 1120 square miles. In the same year, the one-man detachment at Fort Saskatchewan had a patrol area of 3150 square miles. Two policemen at Vegreville had jurisdiction over a territory of 2862 square miles. A lone lawman at Vermilion covered a vast area of 5400 square miles. Finally, in the northeast corner of the Ukrainian settlement, the two constables of the St. Paul detachment had the toughest assignment--a patrol area of 15,225 square miles (110 miles north, 35 miles south, 70 miles east and 35 miles west of the St. Paul townsite).

Up to the time of the Great Depression, poor roads and primitive modes of transportation in the bloc settlement made regular patrols of a policeman's area of jurisdiction all but impossible. Travel proved to be extremely difficult--even after constables began to use automobiles. In the following passage, Bill Buchanan described the road conditions which existed in his patrol area (in the Smoky Lake district) during the 1920's:

> A lot of the time travel was by team and cutter in the winter...and by car and, many times, saddle horses in the summer when roads were bad....The roads in the district were really tough in the old days and one could only travel six miles north of Smoky Lake with a car. Going to Warspite by car one had to go all the way south to the Old Victoria Trail at Pakan, then along the river and north to Warspite, the same applied to going to Waskateneau. East from Smoky Lake on the main road to Edwand or Bellis one had several mud holes to get through and then ford the creek near Edwand, which if in flood made it almost impossible to get through as there was no way around it....The roads were extremely bad at times throughout the wet weather and winter months, and many patrols had to be made by team and sleigh.[13]

Until the government began to construct a modern highway network in the Ukrainian colony during the 1930's and 1940's, the best means of journeying into and out of the region was by railroad. Inevitably, some constables worked in townsites which were not transversed by railway lines.

The problem of the huge patrol area did not affect policing only in east central Alberta. As the population of Western Canada and the size of rural police jurisdictions increased, casual contact between lawmen and settlers decreased all across the Prairie region. This was unfortunate, because the goodwill generated by familiarity had been one of the factors that made the mounted police force so effective between 1875 and 1892.

During the 1915-1929 period, a constable in the

Ukrainian colony rarely left his post except to investigate a serious complaint. Often he would delay the investigation of minor problems in a backwoods area until more critical business brought him into the district. Sometimes the man on detachment duty simply ignored reports of minor crimes in distant communities and left the parties involved to settle matters themselves. Consequently, isolated communities which were relatively free from serious lawlessness would not see a constable for weeks, months or years at a time. As Robert England noted in The Central European Immigrant in Canada, the Canadian policeman did not "definitely reach and influence" most Ukrainians in the bloc environment because he came into contact with the Slavic settlers only when the law had been broken, and, then, for the most part, only with those who broke the law.[14]

In the latter days of the RNWMP and during the era of the Alberta Provincial Police, no directives existed which compelled the detachment constable to keep up ties with all the rural communities within his area of jurisdiction.[15] He was required to record his mileage and patrol work, but the divisional inspector had difficulty verifying his accounts. Constable Serge Zolotoohin, for one, regularly sent in false reports in which he grossly exaggerated the mileage he was covering on detached duty in the Ukrainian colony.[16] By the 1920's, the patrol system had all but disappeared in east central Alberta. APP headquarters went so far as to formally discourage regular patrols of the countryside as a "total disregard for economy." It actually ordered the men of the rural police posts to do the impossible: "to cut down on mileage, without impairing efficiency."[17]

* * * * * * *

Although huge patrol areas, cultural barriers, and Anglo-Canadian prejudices tended to distance the bloc policemen from the Slavic immigrants, these factors do not wholly explain the superficiality of the contact between lawmen and Ukrainians in east central Alberta. A major share of the responsibility for this state of affairs rested with the Ukrainians themselves. In the pre-Depression era, the immigrants took great pains to avoid any contact with British-Canadian officials.

The Ukrainians immigrants harboured prejudices of their own. Many decades of conflict with Poles, Rumanians, Jews, Germans and members of other national minorities in the multi-cultural crownlands of Galicia and Bukovina had left them extremely xenophobic. Old World experience had taught the Ukrainian peasants to close ranks to protect themselves from those who differed from them in nationality, language, culture, or religion. When the peasants immigrated to Canada, they did not leave their xenophobia behind. In the new land, they continued to distrust non-Ukrainians. They referred to such persons as "chuzhi" ("strangers" or "outsiders") and "zhydy" ("unbelievers").[18] The Ukrainians especially distrusted the members of Alberta's numerically, socially and economically predominant Anglo-Saxon Protestant population. In dealings with British-Canadian officials and businessmen, the Ukrainian settler expected swindling and discrimination. Unfortunately, the behaviour of many English-speaking Canadians in Alberta confirmed these deep-seated prejudices.

In their dealings with detachment constables, the Ukrainians' distrust of "chuzhi" was augmented by their greater mistrust of policemen. The bloc settlers' fear of the police proved to be the major obstacle faced by British-Canadian lawmen in east central Alberta. The Slavic immigrants proved to be so wary of the constabulary that the bloc policemen found it virtually impossible to billet at a farmer's house while on an overnight patrol in the foreign colony. Most Ukrainian settlers refused to welcome a constable into their homes, even in the most severe weather.[19] This behaviour dismayed mounties and provincial policemen who had grown accustomed to the enthusiastic hospitality offered by homesteaders in other parts of Western Canada.

The widespread dread of lawmen in the bloc was a legacy of the Ukrainian experience with policemen and gendarmes in eastern Europe. The detachment men in the Ukrainian colony understood this. APP veteran Ted Buchanan noted: "They were scared of the uniformed person, from the problem they had in their own country."[20] Pearl Strynadka, a Ukrainian pioneer from the Smoky Lake district, confirmed this explanation: "People didn't call the police if something happened. They were used from the Old Country to be afraid of the police."[21] Some settlers betrayed their anxiety by making excessive exhibitions of submissiveness before Canadian constables---usually through bows, prostrations, and hand-kissing. In 1909, in an article in the Vegreville Observer, Peter Svarich, a Ukrainian emigrant from Bukovina, explained that authorities in Austria-Hungary had demanded this type of subservience:

> In the appearance of the new arrivals one can read the effects of past hardships. Especially evident are their slavish deference to authority and their cringing attitude before a uniformed official. They may also appear dirty and stupid to a Canadian but one cannot imagine prisoners who have been released from prison recently looking any different. These are only marks of the neglect of the authorities and government under which they lived and should arouse pity and sympathy, not contempt.[22]

In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the government had used the gendarmerie and local police officials to enforce the serfdom which enslaved the Ukrainian peasants up to the year 1848. Even after the abolition of serfdom, gendarmes and policemen continued to be used against the peasantry to preserve the authority of the imperial government and the dominance of the landowning class in Galicia and Bukovina.[23] They stamped out peasant protests, strikes and rebellions in the two crownlands. They harassed, arrested and imprisoned leaders of the Ukrainian national movement. They even obstructed peasant emigration from Western Ukraine. In addition to being the instruments of reaction and repression, the lawmen of Austria-Hungary were notoriously corrupt. Bribery of law enforcement officers was commonplace in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. On the whole, police actions in Galicia and Bukovina could be characterized as arbitrary and cruel. Upon their arrival in Canada, Ukrainian immigrants assumed that policemen in the new land would behave in much the same fashion. The subsequent experiences of some of them confirmed this assumption.

In some ways, the conduct of the Canadian police did not differ dramatically from that of the Austro-Hungarian gendarmerie. The initial encounters which reinforced the dread of lawmen among the Ukrainian settlers of east central Alberta usually took place not in the bloc settlement, but on other frontiers of the Prairie West. During the 1892-1914 era, most Ukrainian homesteaders in east central Alberta sought seasonal employment in mines, lumber camps, and railway encampments to earn the necessary capital to develop their farmsteads. In the 1914-1929 period, many settlers continued to rely on such off-farm work as a major source of cash revenue. In the mining towns and frontier camps of the Canadian Northwest, the Slavs came into contact with Canada's most arbitrary and oppressive policemen. Mining corporations often used private police forces to intimidate restless miners--labourers from central and southeastern Europe in particular. Frequently politicians forced the regular police (the NWMP/RNWMP/RCMP and the APP) to support these mercenary lawmen by protecting strike-breakers, arresting leaders of the labour movement, undermining union activities and suppressing strikes.[24] During the 1917-1929 era, both the APP and the RCMP employed undercover agents to infiltrate Ukrainian socialist and labour organizations and to entrap the leaders of these bodies.[25] Consequently, most Ukrainians came to resent the policemen they encountered on the labouring frontier. A common perception among Ukrainian miners and railway workers was that they had exchanged one set of injustices in the old country for a more bitter assortment in the new land--that, as their saying went, they had gone "from under the eaves and out into the rain."[26] In some cases, they transferred their resentment of the police in mining towns and frontier communities onto detachment men in the bloc settlement.

The internment of Ukrainian immigrants as "enemy aliens" during the First World War also reinforced the bloc settlers' fear of the police. Between 1914 and 1918, Canadian authorities rounded up roughly five thousand Ukrainian Canadians for the misfortune of being former residents of the Austro-Hungarian Empire--a state with which Canada was then at war.[27] The government interned the Slavic immigrants in a network of twenty-six prison camps and work stations which spanned the Dominion from Halifax, Nova Scotia to Nanaimo, British Columbia. The majority of Ukrainian Canadians internees were unemployed itinerant labourers. Most were apprehended outside of the West's Ukrainian bloc settlements. Within the east central Albertan colony, there was little chance that one would be impounded by the authorities--unless one failed to report to the nearest police office as required, was caught in possession of an unregistered firearm, publicly protested against the war or the government, had been denounced as a traitor by an informer, or created some sort of disturbance. Outside of the bloc environment, however, one's chances of arbitrary imprisonment increased markedly. There, authorities interned Ukrainians for ambiguous offenses such as: "travelling without permission", "acting in a very suspicious manner", "using intemperate language" and "being of shiftless character."[28]

Throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century, the bloc settlement was a relatively safe haven from injustice for Ukrainian settlers in Alberta. Outside the colony, the capriciousness of law enforcement officers in their dealings with Ukrainian immigrants was a serious problem. A Slav travelling through a city or townsite where the majority of the population was Anglo-Saxon faced the constant threat of arrest and imprisonment for vagrancy or some other trumped-up charge. Police in Edmonton and Calgary commonly sent unemployed, itinerant Ukrainian labourers to the provincial gaols, lest the municipal governments of the two cities be saddled with the burden of providing them with relief. If tried for an offence in greater Alberta, a Ukrainian offender proved more likely to be convicted than when his court case took place in the Ukrainian colony. This state of affairs existed not only for the duration of the Great War, but had existed prior to 1914 and would persist until (at least) the end of the Great Depression.

While the scales of justice seemed to be balanced more favourably for Ukrainians within the confines of the bloc settlement, the Slavs still judged the justice system in east central Alberta to be far from ideal. Many immigrants found that its features resembled those of the criminal justice system of Galicia or Bukovina. For example, the residents of the Ukrainian colony grew especially sceptical of the pioneer-era practice of having a commissioned NWMP/RNWMP officer serve as justice of the peace or police magistrate in summary court cases prosecuted by mounted police constables.[29] Under such conditions, Ukrainian defendants saw little hope of a fair trial. This arrangement did not seem to differ greatly from the situation in Galicia, where a Ukrainian defendant, arrested by a Polish policeman, faced a Polish prosecutor and a Polish judge in a Polish courtroom. The bloc settlers surmised that one mountie would not act against the interests of a fellow redcoat--or, as one Ukrainian pioneer put it: "An eagle will not peck out another eagle's eyes."[30]

Charles Young's field research in the bloc settlement during the late 1920's forced him to conclude "that the Ukrainian peasant had not outgrown his hereditary attitude to the police and everything associated with them as agents of the ruling nation of which he was an unwilling subject."[31] The Slavs reacted to the Canadian policemen in the Ukrainian settlement with a mixture of awe and resentment--in much the same way as they responded to the foreign gendarmes who had policed Western Ukraine. In the rural community of east central Alberta, as in the peasant village of the old country, authority still came in the guise of "the chuzhyi"--the outsider--and, in the words of Charles Young, the Ukrainians still identified "all such authority with oppression."[32]

Resistance of "foreign" authority had long been an important cultural theme for Ukrainians in the old country and continued to be so for the first Ukrainian settlers in Canada. The turn-of-the-century Ukrainian admired those who had the courage to challenge the outlander. In eastern Galicia, the recalcitrant Ruthenian peasant, who defied the Polish authorities and spent time in jail, was greeted as a hero when he returned to his native village. In Western Canada, the Ukrainian pioneers welcomed the release of the first Ukrainian inmates of Canadian prisons in the same fashion.[33] To the Slavic settlers, these convicts were stalwart veterans of an age-old struggle against foreign oppression (albeit oppression of a novel British-Canadian variety).

* * * * * * *

The inevitable by-product of the Ukrainians' fear and distrust of the police was vigilantism. To settle disputes and punish crimes in the bloc, the immigrants frequently acted independently, ignoring Canadian legalities. In the 1920's, Inspector W.F.W. Hancock of the APP's "A" Division censured "the foreigners" for thinking that they had "the right to take the law into their own hands, and settle any dispute that may happen to arise."[34] The Ukrainians had behaved in this fashion overseas, because involving old-country law enforcement officers in one's affairs usually resulted only in more trouble, frustration, and financial strain for the peasant.[35]

Geographical factors also contributed to the rise of vigilante justice in the Ukrainian colony. The onerousness of travel in the pioneer settlement often made the reporting of crimes a hardship. Reporting the theft of a few chickens to the nearest police detachment, for example, might entail several days of travel across primitive roads, rough trails, deep ravines, marshes, rivers, and other natural obstacles. When one finally arrived at the police post, it was highly probable that the constable would deem such a case unworthy of the bother of investigation. As a result, the settler sometimes found it more convenient and effective to take the law into his own hands.[36] If someone had been rustling his chickens, the straightforward course of action was to steal the birds back. If the settler deemed requital necessary, giving the malefactor a few whacks with a stick usually sufficed.

The following excerpt of the police report detailing the assault of Metro Severan of Shepenge, Alberta, by Mike Holowichuk and five of his friends, describes a typical case of Ukrainian vigilantism in the bloc settlement:

> Metro Severan, complainant, testified that on September 4, 1927, the accused had come to his place together with several other men, and had accused him of stealing tools from their farms. He, the complainant, had denied the charge, and the accused and the other men had made a search of his place and taken away several tools, which they claimed belonged to them. The accused had kicked him when they were at his place.[37]

One major drawback of vigilante actions was that they sometimes got out of hand, culminating in unrestrained violence. For instance, in 1916, Gregory Kucher, a Ukrainian settler in the Whitford district, ended up killing his neighbour in a confrontation over some stolen fish baskets.[38] Another drawback of grassroots justice was that an offender (and/or his relatives and/or his friends) often retaliated for actions taken by the vigilante. This retaliation, in turn, usually provoked a new reprisal and, in some cases, a prolonged feud.

A common expression of vigilantism in the Ukrainian colony was the wounding or killing of stray cattle. Ukrainian farmers sometimes shot at horses, cows, or hogs that had repeatedly wandered onto their land and damaged their crops.[39] Such shootings aroused a great deal of ill-will in the owners of the stray animals, as the Ukrainian settlers found livestock relatively expensive to buy in the early twentieth century. Prosecuting such offenses usually proved to be easy, however, as most trigger-happy neighbours readily admitted to firing at animals during their explanations of justified anger.

Another variant of Ukrainian vigilantism was what the bloc policemen called "spite-work." Spite-work involved the theft and/or destruction of property as an act of vengeance. In 1931, Charles Young made the following observation of theft cases in the bloc environment:

> Stealing, like most crime in the Ukrainian settlements, is of a petty nature confined for the most part to objects like wagon-bolts or wheat. Very often these are taken for spite rather than for any value they may have in themselves.[40]

Domestic animals (usually horses, cattle, or dogs) also served as common targets for acts of vengeance. The animals killed, maimed or stolen for spite were, unlike in the shootings of stray cattle, not themselves the source of a grudge. Bill Buchanan made the following comment about vigilantism in his Smoky Lake detachment area during the 1920's:

> A lot of their trouble out there was spite-work. For instance, one man had four lovely horses killed just for spite. Someone came in there and took his two lovely work horses and took them out in the woods and tied them up--one with a chain and one with a wire--to a tree [and left them there to die]. The other two had their brains knocked out in the muskeg with an axe.[41]

The tearing down of fences and the vandalizing of farm machinery were also common acts of revenge. More rare, but not unheard of, was the poisoning of the well of an affronter.[42] A case of spite-work usually squared the account between the targeted offender and an aggrieved party. Sometimes, however, it merely forewarned of other reprisals.

The most feared expression of Ukrainian vigilantism was arson. In the bloc, where virtually all of the buildings were wooden and where a large number of structures had thatched roofs, arson was a simple and devastating means of exacting revenge on an offender. If setting fire to a home, barn, shed or granary seemed too exacting a retribution to the vigilante, he might choose a lesser target (a haystack, for instance). The most infamous cases of arson in the bloc involved the destruction of Ukrainian-Canadian churches. During the first four decades of Ukrainian settlement in east central Alberta, bitter internecine religious struggles among Ukrainian Christian factions (Greek Catholic, Russian Orthodox, Greek Independent, and Ukrainian Greek Orthodox) resulted in violent confrontations and lawsuits. In many cases, members of divided congregations fought over the ownership of church buildings. Losing sides in these disputes set ablaze several churches in the Ukrainian colony.[43] Similarly, political strife--primarily struggles between Ukrainian nationalist and socialist groups--gave rise to the nocturnal torchings of community halls in the region.[44] Virtually nothing could be done to stop this form of vigilante justice and the bloc police rarely succeeded in discovering the identity of arsonists.[45]

Several factors indirectly contributed to widespread vigilantism in east central Alberta. In the Ukrainian colony, Galicians and Bukovinians frequently exacted revenge not only for crimes committed against them, but for instances when other settlers had reported them to the police. The following case from Pakan, Alberta illustrates the type of intimidation used against complainants--in this specific instance, that employed by Wasyl Pawliuk against his neighbour Wasylena Ratsoy in 1923:

> Evidence was taken to the prosecution to the effect that the complainant was at her house on the 8th of October. ...The accused came past and asked her if it was true that somebody had broken into her shack and stolen something. She said yes. The accused then asked her if she had said it was his boys who had done it. She said she did not know. The accused then said, shaking his fist in her face, "If you say it was my boys I will knock your teeth out" and called her names.
>
> The accused then gave his evidence

> and admitted that he was mad and that he did say that he would knock her teeth out but denied shaking his fist in her face.[46]

Many settlers went beyond threats in dealing with complainants. In 1925, for example, Mrs. Phillip Lukamanko of Sunland, Alberta, took revenge on the man who had reported her husband to the police for the theft of a turkey by entering his home in the middle of the night, sneaking into his bedroom, and smashing him in the teeth with a large rock while he lay asleep in bed.[47] In the Musidora District, Ukrainian ruffians Andrew Lyzaniuk and Alex Mandrusiak beat their neighbour John Ilkuff with clubs--almost to death--because Ilkuff's family had reported them to the local detachment constable for assault and dog killing.[48] Besides assaults or threats of violence, Ukrainian settlers found arson to be an effective weapon for the intimidation of potential plaintiffs and witnesses. In the 1920's, one lawyer in a Ukrainian district remarked of its inhabitants: "Their first fear is that their buildings will be burnt: 'I wouldn't give evidence against him--he will burn my buildings,' they will say."[49] Not surprisingly, then, most Ukrainian settlers proved reluctant to lodge complaints with the police or to serve as witnesses at trials. Naturally, this state of affairs directly reduced the number of crimes reported to the police (and indirectly increased the likelihood that more Ukrainian settlers would take the law into their own hands).

Weaning the Ukrainians of vigilantism was a long and difficult process for the bloc constabulary. Years of relative neglect by the police and reliance on vigilante justice did not make Ukrainians receptive to an increased police presence when it finally came. With the exception of the Andrew police post, the police detachments in the most homogeneously Ukrainian sections of the bloc interior would not open until after 1919. Effectively, the police first exerted their authority over the interior of the bloc ten, twenty, or more years after settlers had arrived there.

What was it like for the Anglo-Saxon lawman to enter a community left unbridled by law and order for so many years? The records of police officer William Buchanan give some insight into this experience. In 1920, Buchanan opened up the first police post at the new townsite of Smoky Lake, Alberta. He described the Smoky Lake jurisdiction, at the time of his arrival there, as "a wild detachment" where "people were used to living by their own rules."[50] Buchanan attributed this situation to the fact that, for roughly two decades, the Slavic settlers of the Smoky Lake district had been left to their own devices by the NWMP/RNWMP and APP. Technically, the detachment at Andrew had been responsible for policing the Smoky Lake area for many years prior to Buchanan's arrival. In reality, however, it took a serious crime like murder or aggravated assault to spur a constable from Andrew to cross onto the north side of the North

Saskatchewan River.

Bill Buchanan believed that the lack of police supervision in the northwestern section of the bloc for such a long period of time only compounded the problem of the Ukrainian immigrants' aversion to policemen. When received a distinctly cold reception from the Slavic settlers of Smoky Lake in 1920, he ascribed this to the fact that he "was the first policeman there," not to any dislike of his personal qualities.[51] Buchanan stated, "At first, they didn't resent me being there, but they resented law and order." One source of this disaffection, he felt, was that the Ukrainians were "pretty wild with moonshine whisky or illicit liquor" and fearful of the police because of that.[52]

On occasion, the Ukrainian settlers campaigned for the removal of policemen from districts of the bloc. For example, eighteen months after Bill Buchanan opened up the Smoky Lake detachment, the Ukrainian residents of the surrounding area sent a petition to APP headquarters asking for the constable's dismissal.[53] An investigator from the Attorney General's Department visited Smoky Lake to look into the situation. He based himself at the town's hotel and interviewed dozens of local Ukrainian settlers. After conducting his interviews, the man from Edmonton told Buchanan that he was "in quite a mess." Buchanan complained that the interpreter used by the unilingual English-speaking investigator was hostile to himself and had been distorting the testimonies of his fellow Ukrainian settlers. The reason for this, Buchanan remarked, was that he had arrested him only a short time before for making moonshine. In fact, the constable noted that the first twenty-five signatures on the petition calling for his dismissal belonged to settlers that he had taken to court for criminal offenses. Buchanan countered the actions of the Ukrainian petitioners by seeking the support of the Anglo-Saxon businessmen of Smoky Lake. They responded by staunchly vouching for the constable's integrity. In the end, when it came down to choosing between Buchanan's Anglo-Saxon supporters and his Slavic detractors, the Attorney General sided with the former group. Buchanan stayed in Smoky Lake for another six-and-a-half years. In another case, William Fedun, the Ukrainian MLA for the Victoria constituency, petitioned Alberta's Deputy Attorney General, A.G. Browning, for the removal of Constable George Jenkins from the Andrew detachment. In 1921, Fedun wrote a letter to Browning in which he claimed that a dozen people had seen Jenkins on the streets of Andrew "in a drunken condition" and that the lawman had exposed his naked body "in the most shameful manner." The MLA declared that one "could not expect good work" from a man like Jenkins and expressed the desire "to see a good policeman at Andrew and to have this one taken away."[54] Browning, however, took no action in response to Fedun's accusations and recommendation. On another occasion, the Attorney General's Department received a letter of complaint from a bloc settler alleging that Constable McKay had been drunk at the Waskateneau Hotel while on duty. The Attorney General dismissed the charge when he learned that the complainant was a convicted moonshiner.[55]

All things considered, British-Canadian lawmen found themselves relegated to the outside of bloc settlement society. They would have to overcome a tremendous amount of resistance to win the support and co-operation of the Ukrainian settlers.

* * * * * * *

Due to the peculiar social climate of the Ukrainian colony, the detachment man relied heavily on the small Anglo-Saxon minority who lived there. In the bloc interior, the few friends and close acquaintances of the British-Canadian constable were men of his own ethno-cultural group who lived in town with him: the grain agent, the railway station master, the shopkeeper, the hotelier, and the lawyer. He had a close working relationship (and usually a strong friendship) with the Anglo-Canadian JPs of his district. Some bloc policemen even had family connections with the Anglo-Saxons in their patrol areas. Several married daughters of local British settlers while working on detachment in the Ukrainian colony. For example, Constable Samuel McPherson married the daughter of JP George Woolley during his posting at Andrew, Alberta.[56] While on detachment at Smoky Lake, Constable Bill Buchanan married the daughter of Magnus Cromarty--one of the area's original homesteaders.[57] The bloc policeman's close social and/or family ties made him sympathize with (and sometimes favour) the Anglo-Saxon in his enforcement of the law--or so it appeared to some Ukrainian settlers.[58]

Justices of the peace played a significant role in the justice system of the Ukrainian colony. They presided at court cases involving minor crimes and preliminary hearings for serious criminal offenses. JPs also affected the pattern of law enforcement within a bloc settlement district through their influence on the local detachment constable.

Throughout the 1894-1930 era, the overwhelming majority of justices of the peace in the Ukrainian colony were not of Ukrainian descent. British-Canadians with names like Bell, Foster and MacKenzie predominated in the ranks of the bloc JPs. Most of these officials worked as businessmen in the townsites of the bloc, some as farmers, and a handful as church ministers and/or doctors. Many held other public service offices in the local community in addition to that of justice of the peace. C.H. Lawford, for instance, was not only a medical doctor and Methodist missionary at Pakan, but served the district as coroner, game guardian, and member of the local school board as well. John Eckess, JP at Smoky Lake, managed the Beaver Lumber Company and acted as the Secretary of the Smoky Lake Municipality. Robert Stewart worked as a sub-agent for the Land Titles Office, a postmaster, and a farmer. Percy Sutton was a farmer and Protestant minister. A few of the bloc justices had some previous schooling in the law. For instance, George Woolley, who ran the hotel at Andrew, had served in the Northwest Mounted Police from 1884 to 1892. Most JP appointees in the Ukrainian colony, however, had neither experience nor training to guide them in their work as judicial officials.

The government filled most vacant JP positions with patronage appointments. It usually awarded these positions to men who had actively campaigned for the government party during the previous election. Technically, the offices were awarded to the best candidates available. In reality, the Attorney General of Alberta appointed JPs to a district on the recommendation of the district's sitting Member of the Legislative Assembly (providing, of course, that he was a member of the government party). The qualifications needed for the job were few: first of all, by birth or naturalization, one had to be a British subject; secondly, one had to be at least twenty-one years of age; and, finally, one had to be able to speak English fluently, read, and write. Perhaps because of the meagre qualifications required for the position, most of the men who served as JPs in the pre-1930 era were of a poor quality.

In the Ukrainian colony, civilian justices of the peace began to replace mounted police officers as judicators in summary court cases during the first decade of the twentieth century.[59] On the surface, this change seemed to be for the better; it solved the disturbing problem of the NWMP/RNWMP officer's apparent conflict of interest in the courtroom. In fact, however, Ukrainian settlers would discover that this change tended to reduce their chances of a fair hearing by the local courts. The new civilian JPs in the bloc were all Anglo-Saxons, many of whom despised the Eastern European immigrants. For instance, Basil d'Easum, JP at Fort Saskatchewan, gave full vent to racist resentments against the Ukrainian settlers in his story, "A Galician Wedding," which was published in the Canadian Magazine.[60] The Slavs had good reason to doubt that they would receive fair treatment from men like d'Easum.

Indeed, the justice meted out by the Anglo-Saxon JPs of east central Alberta was dubious. In the 1920's, one detachment constable in a Ukrainian district remarked:

> Excepting an intelligent few, the J.P.'s are an ignorant lot with no knowledge of the law and very little knowledge of anything else; they are small men, and because of their position, have an exaggerated sense of their importance. What is more, they are not beyond tinkering with the ends of justice if it is to their own advantage: for instance, rather than lose two dollars, they will try cases which should be referred to higher courts and still others which might be settled out of court.[61]

Some justices of the peace seem to have made up the law as they went along. For example, the JP at Wahstao fined a Ukrainian female for "gossip as is indulged in by ignorant women"--even though no such offence existed in the statute books or the Criminal Code. The same official failed to report the cases he tried to the government and kept all monies from the fines he imposed.[62]

The avariciousness of the Anglo-Saxon justices of the peace particularly troubled the cash-strapped Ukrainian settlers. The Ukrainians levelled charges of excessive fines against bloc JPs, alleging that the justices pocketed the differences between the maximum penalties permitted by law and the inflated fines imposed. At times, the fines and fees assessed to the Slavs by JPs did significantly exceed the limits defined by the Criminal Code.[63] For example, the Ukrainians of the Andrew district complained to the Attorney General's Department about "the harsh and ill-treatment" that they received from JP George Woolley. They criticized Woolley for regularly assessing excessively high penalties on Slavic offenders. An investigation by the Deputy Attorney General in 1918 found these charges to be well-founded.[64] Nevertheless, and despite Woolley's stubborn refusal to correct his unlawful behaviour, the Attorney General steadfastly refused to cancel the JP's appointment; he let off the Andrew official with a polite reprimand. In 1920, Woolley received a more forceful rebuke--again for ignoring court procedures and charging (and pocketing) excessive court fees. Moreover, A.G. Browning, the Deputy Attorney General, censured him for considering himself "in the position of a law-maker rather than a law-enforcer."[65] Browning threatened Woolley with dismissal but never acted on this threat. In response, the Andrew JP promised to reform his ways, but, evidently, neglected to do so. In 1922, when Ukrainian-Canadian businessman William Fedun was elected MLA for the bloc's Victoria constituency, the electee pressured the Attorney General's Department to dismiss the arbitrary and bullheaded justice of the peace. In a letter, Fedun straightforwardly declared, "The people around Andrew are very much against Mr. Woolley."[66] The MLA's vehement denouncing of the JP, however, had no effect. George Woolley remained the nemesis of Ukrainian defendants and plaintiffs in the courtroom at Andrew for several more years.

The most common complaint made by Ukrainians about the criminal justice system of the bloc was that it treated them like second-class citizens. The Slavs maintained that police and judicial officials favoured Anglos-Saxons in their court battles with Galicians and Bukovinians. In 1916, one Ukrainian settler bitterly observed: "Go to law with an Englishman. He has damaged us and we pay the damages. I think that we have not the tenth part of that justice we had in the old country."[67] There were cases in which Anglo-Saxon judges dismissed charges made by Slavic settlers against Anglo-Saxon offenders for questionable reasons.[68] Transparently discriminatory judgements provoked Ukrainian demands for their own Ukrainian officials. One pioneer summed up the frustrations of the bloc settlers as follows:

> Here we should have our own Justice of the Peace, or if not, then one who would not despise us and laugh at us but try to understand our pleas. The present Justice of the Peace is a very poor justice, especially when he has a case with Ukrainian farmers. He is always one-sided and decides the case in favour of the English-speaking against the Ukrainians.[69]

The Slavic immigrants found an additional example of discrimination in the inequitable division of court costs. They charged that JPs and policemen unfairly saddled Ukrainians with the full burden of court costs and neglected to demand a fair share from non-Ukrainian plaintiffs and defendants. The Slavs maintained that, instead of dividing court fees equally among all cases on a docket, Anglo-Saxon officials imposed them only on Ukrainian ones.[70] Finally, the bloc settlers frequently complained that their civil rights had been violated by JPs who denied them legal representation, refused to accept pleas of "not guilty" to criminal charges, and disallowed them opportunities to defend themselves in court.[71]

The Ukrainian colonists sometimes petitioned the government for the dismissal of the most notoriously discriminatory JPs in east central Alberta.[72] These official protests, however, came to naught. During the pre-Depression era, Attorney Generals steadfastly refused to take disciplinary action against any British-Canadian JP in a Slavic district.

Nonetheless, after 1910, overt discrimination against Ukrainian settlers by Anglo-Canadian justices of the peace progressively decreased in the east central Albertan colony. While one might suspect that this trend resulted from a change in attitude on the part of the Anglo-Saxon JPs, it did not. Anti-Slav prejudices remained strong among British Canadians inside the bloc up to 1930 and for many years thereafter--as they did among Britishers in greater Alberta. It was purely self-interest that prompted bloc JPs to modify their handling of the Ukrainian settlers. In the second and third decades of this century, tipping the scales of justice against the Slavs simply became too uncomfortable for non-Ukrainian officials inside the foreign colony. In fact, circumstances in the bloc would eventually prompt Anglo-Saxon officials to shield some blameworthy Bukovinian and Galician lawbreakers from prosecutions, fines and prison sentences.

# CHAPTER II

# CRIME AND THE UKRAINIAN SETTLER

> *The average Ruthenian is still a pretty slippery proposition....With exceptions of course, a good many, particularly among the ladies, have a strong touch of kleptomania; they will commandeer the linen off your washline, annex the clothes from your wardrobe and adopt the spoons out of your drawer; some who work out by the day carry pouches under their skirts, fearfully and wonderfully made, and more like potato bags than actual pockets.*[1]
>
> --Vegreville Observer, 1909

> *The Galician figures disproportionately to his numbers in the police court and penitentiary. Centuries of poverty and oppression have, to some extent, animalized him.*[2]
>
> --Arthur Ford in J.S. Woodsworth's
> Strangers Within Our Gates (1909)

> *Alberta seems to be in most cases confronted with offenders of the Slav race and some of the worst cases imaginable, so far as Alberta is concerned, are charged to their account.*[3]
>
> --The Canadian Police Gazette,
> March 1928

> *We hear quite often that Ukrainians do not respect the law of this country. That there are too many assaults and murders committed by them and that they are rougher than any other nationality.*[4]
>
> --Ukrainian-Canadian settler,
> Vegreville, Alberta, 1931

In 1937, Edmonton historian T.C. Byrne noted in his study of the Ukrainian colony in east central Alberta: "It is true that the Ukrainians, in general, do not enjoy a reputation as law-abiding citizens."[5] This observation understates public opinion in Alberta during the early twentieth century. It held that the Ukrainian immigrants were a primitive people with extraordinary proclivities for crime and vice. This notorious reputation was founded on the claims of Prairie scholars, social reformers, newspaper men and politicians--including J.S. Woodsworth, Robert England, Emily Murphy, Nellie McClung, Arthur Ford, J.T.M. Anderson, and Frank Oliver--who alleged that Western Canada's Ukrainian immigrants committed far more crimes than their numbers warranted. Anglo-Canadians viewed the Ukrainian rural colonies and urban quarters as breeding grounds for lawlessness and immorality. One contemporary social scientist described the overall social climate of Ukrainians in Canada as a "sahara of crime."[6]

More than six decades after 1930, such claims remain virtually unchallenged. In fact, in recent years, Prairie historians, including Ukrainian-Canadian researchers, have supported the old contentions that Ukrainian pioneer society suffered from a disproportionately high rate of crime.[7]

Yet, if one takes the police ledgers and prison statistics at face value, the criminal record of Alberta's Ukrainian community does not appear to be any worse than that of the general population of the province in the pre-Depression era. Those who have claimed otherwise failed to support their claims with hard evidence. In fact, they have invariably based their arguments on faulty interpretations of crime statistics and prison records. To illustrate this point, let us turn to statistics used to indict the Slavic settlers as excessively criminal.

The historical record cited most often by scholars to prove the high rate of crime among Alberta's pre-1930 Ukrainians is a 1928 roster from the Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol. This is reproduced in Table One below.

Table 1

Male Inmates--Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol--For the Year 1928[8]

By Country of Birth:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canadian | 402 | Norway | 44 |
| Other British | 219 | Denmark | 12 |
| American | 89 | Finland | 8 |
| Austrian | 104 | Holland | 1 |
| Poland | 27 | Switzerland | 3 |
| Roumania | 3 | France | 1 |
| Russia | 24 | Belgium | 3 |
| Germany | 10 | China | 2 |
| Italy | 2 | | |
| Sweden | 13 | | 967 |

By Religion:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Roman Catholic | 292 | Baptist | 32 |
| Greek Catholic | 92 | United Church | 7 |
| Greek Orthodox | 5 | Christian Scientist | 5 |
| Methodist | 64 | Jewish | 2 |
| Presbyterian | 170 | Miscellaneous | 42 |
| Anglican | 129 | | |
| Lutheran | 127 | | 967 |

The first researcher to interpret the information in Table One was Charles Young. His book The Ukrainian Canadians (1931) contains the following analysis of it:

> This Gaol table is significant for two or three reasons. No list of the inmates according to racial origin could be obtained. No Ukrainians are reported though 104 "Austrians" are, which along with the 54 Poles, Russians and Roumanians, gives a total of 158 Slavs.[9] Yet, while no Ukrainians are reported, 92 of the total population are Greek Catholics. That is to say, in the above table well over half of the Slavs are Greek Catholics, or Ukrainians in other words, for the Greek Catholics in Alberta other than Ukrainians are a totally insignificant number.
>
> In view of the above evidence, there is nothing left for us but to assume that...the Ukrainians are really to be found numbered among the other Slavs. The "exceedingly high rate for the Austrians" is further evidence of this. To what extent the Ukrainians contribute to the Slav aggregate, it is impossible to say exactly, but judging from the above table...it is safe to presume that a very large percentage of the Slavs, especially those classified as "Austrians," are probably Ukrainians. This admittedly gives us no figure for the criminality of the Ukrainians, but on the basis of the data considered in this connection, we are justified in assuming that it is somewhere in the vicinity of the Slav average.[10]

In brief, Young proposed that the Ukrainians did have a high crime rate based on the idea that a large number of Ukrainian offenders were hidden in the prison roster under other "nationalities" (Austrians, Russians, Poles, etc.). Indeed, it is quite reasonable to conclude that prison officials did list convicts of Ukrainian origin under other national groupings in the gaol table. Nevertheless, it is impossible to determine the precise number of hidden Ukrainians in the statistics. This fact, however, did not prevent Young from endorsing claims of a high Ukrainian-Canadian crime rate.

In 1985, Ukrainian-Canadian historian Orest Martynowych resurrected Young's argument in his study of the bloc settlement in east central Alberta. Martynowych attempted to make a rough estimate of the number of Ukrainian offenders hidden in the categories of Table One and to use this figure to calculate the relative criminality of Alberta's Ukrainian population during the late 1920's. In the following passage, the historian offers his more cogent analysis of the 1928 gaol table:

> Of 967 inmates...104 were born in Austria, 27 in Poland, three in Rumania and 24 in Russia. Of these, the 92 Greek Catholics and five Greek Orthodox inmates were almost certainly Ukrainians. A few of the 292 Roman Catholics and 170 Presbyterians may have also been Ukrainians. Thus, at least 10 per cent of the Provincial Gaol's inmates were Ukrainians at a time when Ukrainians constituted less than 7.6 per cent of the provincial population.[11]

Martynowych uses the above interpretation to lend support to the claim that Alberta's Ukrainians had a relatively high rate of crime in the pre-Depression period.

There are several problems, however, with interpreting the Fort Saskatchewan prison table in the way Young, Martynowych and others have done. The chief one is a single major oversight. Fort Saskatchewan Gaol was not Alberta's only provincial prison in the 1920's. There was another one at Lethbridge which handled offenders from the southern part of the province. The scholars who have used the Fort Saskatchewan statistics have interpreted them as if they came from Alberta's only provincial gaol.

Once this mistake is corrected, the figures which once reflected so badly on the Ukrainians actually seem to flatter them. Over ninety per cent of the Ukrainians in Alberta lived in the northern half of the province in the 1920's--in the big bloc in east central Alberta, in several smaller rural settlements in west central and northwestern Alberta, and in the Ukrainian quarter in the city of Edmonton. While the Ukrainians may have constituted only about 7.4 per cent of Alberta's total population, they made up more than 15 per cent of the population of the area which sent prisoners to Fort Saskatchewan Gaol.[12] Thus, if their proportion of inmates in the Fort was about 10 per cent, they appear to have been considerably more law-abiding than typical citizens of pre-Depression Alberta.

When one considers that a variety of factors tended to inflate the number of Ukrainians in Western Canadian prisons during the 1892-1929 era, the Slavic settlers seem almost paragons of virtue.

First of all, not all prisoners sent to Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol were dispatched there directly by judicial officials. A good number ended up there because they did not have enough money to pay fines imposed by the courts. As Alberta's Ukrainian population, including the majority who inhabited the east central Albertan bloc, was among the province's most economically-disadvantaged groups, a convicted Ukrainian offender was far more likely to go to prison for non-payment of a fine than the average citizen of the province.[13] Plainly, while most British-Canadian malefactors could afford to pay a modest cash penalty, many Ukrainian-Canadian lawbreakers could not. Consequently, a higher percentage of the Slavs tended to end up at Fort Saskatchewan.

Other factors also acted to inflate Ukrainian criminal statistics in the pre-1930 era. There is no doubt that Ukrainians suffered discrimination at the hands of Alberta's policemen and judicial officials during this period. Moreover, the problem of differential law enforcement--particularly in communities where Ukrainians were in the minority (that is, outside of the bloc or along its borders)--may have artificially increased the number of Ukrainian offenders on police and prison ledgers. In greater Alberta, because law enforcement officers tended to scrutinize the behaviour of "the foreigners" more closely than most persons, it seems probable that a higher percentage of the Ukrainian crimes would be detected and a higher percentage of Ukrainian offenders prosecuted.

In a 1919 article in the Canadian Magazine, F. Heap decried the fact that most Anglo-Canadians believed that Ukrainian immigrants were more prone to crime despite the fact that no reliable statistics were available to support this judgment. Moreover, Heap pointed out that, even if such statistics had existed, the Ukrainian-Canadian crime rate would be considerably inflated by several conditions:

> It is sometimes said that this class is guilty of more crimes than any other class in our community, and figures more frequently in the police courts and assizes in proportion to its numbers. No exact statistics are available on the question....[But] it should be borne in mind that the very prevalence of this opinion or prejudice may itself be responsible for a good many convictions which otherwise would have never taken place. Lawyers have often observed that the rule of English law, as to giving the accused the benefit of all reasonable doubt does not seem by any means to be applied in our courts in favour of the "foreigners" in actual practice. Then again it should not be forgotten that "ignorance of the law," while not to be accepted as a defence in the courts, nevertheless to some extent accounts for not a few of the convictions against this class, more especially for minor offenses.[14]

On the basis of his own research, Heap rejected the claim that Ukrainian Canadians were disproportionately criminal.

One final factor which would have contributed to a high rate of crime among the pre-1930 Ukrainian population of Alberta was a straightforward demographic one. Males between the ages of sixteen and twenty-nine accounted for an extraordinarily large proportion of Ukrainians in Alberta in the pre-Depression era.[15] As this is the gender and age group which has always committed the preponderance of crimes in Western cultures, this comparative abundance of young men should have guaranteed the Ukrainians a relatively high crime rate.

The statistical evidence explored thus far, however, suggests that a higher rate of crime among Ukrainian settlers did not exist. How then does one account then for the variety of contemporary accounts which testify that the Ukrainian immigrant group was one of the worst criminal elements in the pre-Depression West?

Some of these claims can certainly be dismissed as nativist calumnies. Others can be rejected as politically-motivated slanders. For example, the first accusations of Ukrainian immigrant lawlessness came from the Tory press of the 1896-1902 era. There is little doubt that these newspapers, given their affiliations with the federal Conservative Party, made such claims for political purposes. They hoped that, by slandering the Galician and Bukovinian peasants then pouring into the West, they could discredit the Liberal administration which had promoted and supported the Ukrainian immigration movement.[16] Other attacks on the Slavic settlers by Protestant missionaries, Sabbatarians, prohibitionists, and suffragettes can also be linked to ulterior motives. These will be addressed in the conclusion of this chapter.

Of course, one can argue that the Ukrainians did have a high rate of crime which is simply not recorded in the statistical evidence. After all, what do crime statistics measure anyway? How are the numbers of arrests and convictions affected by police efficiency, inequalities in law enforcement, priorities in policing, levels of social tolerance and other factors?[17] Clearly, an understanding of how a community's justice system functions at the grass-roots level is necessary before one can determine the meaning of its criminal statistics.

This thesis is neither an attempt to exonerate the Ukrainian pioneers of charges of excessive criminality nor to support these charges. Due to the fragmentary nature of the archival evidence and the methods of recording used by justice officials in the pre-Depression era, the Ukrainian criminality controversy may never be settled. In any case, the resolution of it is certainly beyond the scope of this brief monograph.

The one hypothesis that I put forward about the criminality debate is this: the furore about Ukrainian-Canadian crime in the first decades of this century probably had more to do with the peculiarity of Ukrainian offenses than with their rate or frequency.

Taken at face value, the criminal statistics of the 1915-29 period do not reveal any unique patterns of criminal behaviour in the east central Albertan bloc.[18] The bloc settlers appear to have committed the same crimes as other Albertans and in roughly the same measure. When one goes beyond the figures and begins to examine the particulars of police reports, criminal case files and court transcripts, however, distinctive trends begin to emerge. Although the prevalent crimes in the Ukrainian colony corresponded to those in other regions of Alberta, the motivations and executions of these crimes did not. The Slavic settlers broke the same laws as other Albertans, but in different ways and for different reasons.

Two of the most common classes of crimes will be examined to illustrate this contention: theft and violent assault. The differential trends in criminal behaviour within the bloc community are probably best exemplified by these two categories of offenses.[19]

* * * * * * *

The pattern of theft cases in the east central Albertan bloc during the 1915-1930 period reflected the rural nature of life in the colony and the relative poverty of the Ukrainian colonists. In the impoverished environment of the settlement, the temptation to steal was very great, but the range of items that could be stolen was quite small. Thievery in the bloc generally involved the everyday goods of an agricultural community: grain, implement parts, harnesses, hand tools, and the like. Almost all cases of Ukrainian theft involved the misappropriation of the property of poor farmers by other poor farmers.

Theft of grain became a common crime in Ukrainian rural districts from the time Ukrainian settlers entered the commercial farming phase during World War I. In the 1915-1929 era, with the construction of new railway branch lines through the settlement and the erection of conveniently-accessible grain elevators, stolen grain could easily be converted into cash.

Stealing a farmer's grain was not a complicated affair. A horse-drawn wagon could be pulled up to a granary in a farmyard or field in the middle of the night and the seed quickly shovelled into sacks or directly into the grain box.[20] In cases of grain theft, the only clues that the police could hope for were the wagon or sleigh tracks which careless thieves might fail to conceal. Stealthy thieves generally carried out their raids in late fall or early winter (when the ground was frozen but before snow had fallen); this was the best time to avoid leaving traceable tracks. The purloining of grain proved difficult to prevent. The police could advocate only one precaution; they encouraged farmers to mix coloured confetti with their wheat and oats to help with identification in case of thievery.

Livestock theft, although less common than the stealing of grain, also vexed settlers in Ukrainian colony during the first three decades of the century. While it does not figure prominently in police records, anecdotal evidence indicates that the nocturnal rustling of poultry was most common type of offence in this category of crime. Hunger drove poverty-stricken settlers to steal birds for meat or for the eggs that would be produced. Horses and cattle also presented a temptation for the Ukrainians, as these animals were both critical for survival and expensive to purchase. The relative ease with which stolen animals could be identified and the severity with which the courts dealt with rustlers, however, made the stealing of livestock a crime that did not pay. Inspector J.S. Piper of the APP's "A" Division noted that the thefts of farm animals in east central Alberta were generally poorly-planned crimes that took place on the spur of the moment.[21] Piper observed that stolen horses could be easily traced because a horse thief usually sold them "at the nearest livery stable." The inspector attributed this behaviour "in a great measure to the accused wanting some ready cash."[22] APP Superintendent W.C. Bryan commented that the investigation of cattle thefts was somewhat more difficult--principally because rustlers often slaughtered cows, calves, and steers.[23] In an attempt to facilitate the identification of stolen livestock, bloc policemen encouraged settlers to brand their animals. Most Ukrainian farmers, however, neglected to do so in the pre-Depression era.

Thieves in east central Alberta sometimes targeted farm implements, especially equipment left sitting idle in a field or broken-down by the roadside. It was rare for an entire piece of farm equipment to be stolen, but criminals would strip implements and machinery for parts--nuts, bolts, a canvas, a chain, or whatever was detachable. It seems that a fair number of the bloc settlers favoured such pilferage over the ofttimes long trek to the nearest implement dealership or hardware store.[24]

Although most Ukrainian houses did not have locks on the doors, theft from homes was a relatively rare occurrence in pre-1930 east central Alberta. When a burglar did risk entering a neighbour's dwelling, he was usually after a potential cache of money. The Ukrainian settlers rarely used banks in the pre-1930 period, distrusting both the institutions and the British Canadians who managed them.[25] The typical Slav kept his entire life savings at home--whether the sum consisted of a few coins or a few hundred dollars. The would-be thief, however, found that locating a secret nest egg proved to be a very difficult business. Farmers might stuff a roll of bills in a mattress, hide it under the floorboards, stash it in an outbuilding, conceal it in a root cellar, or bury it in the farmyard inside a tin box or glass jar. The ingeniousness of hiding places usually made the possibility of discovering stashed cash remote.

The thief could expect a better chance of immediate reward by breaking into a shop or store in the middle of the night. Such raids netted crooks money, food, clothing or tools. If a burglar was after cash, the best time for him to strike was in the late fall or early winter when businessmen carried extra money to cash farmers' grain cheques. Storekeepers rarely took the trouble to put cash under lock and key. When they did, it was usually stored in easily-broken tin containers. Some shopkeepers had safes in their stores, but often neglected to lock them at night--some because they never bothered to learn combinations. For example, when thieves struck a general store at Chipman one night in 1929, they took $100 in cash from an open safe.[26] The police complained that the small town stores in the bloc were "nothing but 'set ups' for petty pilferers" as there were "no substantial locks on the doors nor any fastenings on the windows."[27] Thefts from stores or business offices rarely went unpunished, however, as the police treated these occurrences as very serious offenses. In such cases, detectives from Edmonton usually assisted the detachment constable in successfully completing his investigations.

The types of theft described above could and did take place in other corners of the Prairie West during the 1915-1930 era. What, then, differentiates Ukrainian stealing in the bloc settlement from thefts committed elsewhere? It is the utter triviality of articles stolen in the bloc that is the distinguishing factor; that is, the general value or quality of stolen goods in the Ukrainian colony was much lower than in other communities. What amazed policemen (and British Canadians in general) was the thorough pettiness of Ukrainian thefts. For instance, only in the Ukrainian colony would thieves stoop to stealing rusty barbed wire right off of fence posts.[28] Anglo-Saxon Albertans, overlooking the poverty of the bloc settlers, could not understand the motivations for such filching--it scarcely seemed worthwhile on the grounds of monetary gain or in relation to the risks of fines and/or imprisonment. In the end, the critics of the Slavs sought biological and psychological explanations. They suggested that kleptomania was a distinctive genetic or national trait of the Galicians and Bukovinians.

Thus, in the case of theft, the Ukrainians earned their reputation as a pilfering race, not because of a relatively high rate of theft in their communities, but because of the types of articles that were stolen. The paltriness, not the volume, of thefts in the foreign colony aroused the ire of the Anglo-Saxon. If Ukrainian thieves had been more enterprising (or, indeed, if there had been more valuable items for them to steal in the relatively-impoverished bloc settlement), they would have been more inconspicuous and Ukrainian settlers, as a whole, less-maligned.

* * * * * * *

The crimes most responsible for the infamy of the Ukrainian immigrants were violent offenses. Common assaults, aggravated assaults, manslaughters, and murders committed in the foreign colony attracted a great deal of attention from Prairie policemen, newspapers, social reformers and citizens. In the public imagination of early-twentieth-century Alberta, the Ukrainian colony was a barbarous place--much like the frontier American West--where random violence and brutal murders were everyday occurrences.

On the official ledger sheets of the police and of Alberta's Attorney General's Department, it does not appear that the Ukrainian settlers committed more violent crimes than typical Albertans in the pre-Depression period. This seems to hold true for any class of violent offenses--from "common assault" to "murder."[29] In the latter category, Ukrainians suspects or defendants figured in more than their fair share of homicide cases in some years during the 1916-29 era, but fewer than their fair share in other years.[30] Ukrainians did not number among the criminals hanged in Alberta during this period.[31] Scholars have attempted to use the rosters from federal penitentiaries to demonstrate that the Slavic immigrants had a higher rate of serious crime than average Canadians during this period. These efforts, however, proved to be plagued by the old problem of determining the "hidden Ukrainians" in the statistics (the same difficulty encountered in the interpretation of the records from the Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol).[32] All in all, the official statistics do not reveal unique patterns of violent crime in the pre-Depression Ukrainian colony.

It is only when one studies individual criminal case files that significant differences between the violent behaviour of the Ukrainian pioneers and other Albertans become apparent. The pattern of violent offenses in the Ukrainian settlement differentiates itself primarily in circumstances, motivations, and techniques.

A survey of assault, manslaughter and murder cases from the 1915-1929 era reveals some interesting trends in violent behaviour within the east central Albertan colony. Above all, one tendency stands out: very little provocation was needed from one Ukrainian settler to elicit a violent response from another. In their confrontations with one another, the Galicians and Bukovinians displayed hair-trigger tempers. Any public or private display of anger among them was likely to induce violence. Time and time again in the criminal files of the 1915-1929 period, one can find examples of criminal assaults precipitated by seemingly harmless quarrels in which Ukrainians disputants resorted to violence almost as an inevitability. The bloc settlers appear to have used physical blows, beatings, and brawls as routine means of resolving conflicts.

Ukrainian assaults also differed from those committed by non-Ukrainian Albertans in the use of weapons. In a violent outburst, a settler in the Ukrainian colony proved far more likely to use a weapon than the average Albertan of the 1915-

1929 era. The bloc settlers rarely used knives or firearms. The weapons employed were usually everyday objects grabbed in the heat of the moment: a stick, a piece of firewood, an iron bar, an axe handle, a coal shovel, a spade, a wagon bolt, a pitchfork, a neck yoke, or the like.[33] Even in premeditated assaults, Ukrainians wielded some bizarre instruments. In perhaps the most famous case of assault in the history of the Ukrainian bloc (the main event of the "Great Ruthenian School Revolt" of 1913-14), a group of Ukrainian women brained a British-Canadian schoolteacher with an iron pot.[34] In August 1921, in the churchyard at Skaro, Mike Melnyk cut up his neighbour Frank Pysyk with a can opener.[35] Vegreville JP N. McIntyre fined Ukrainian farmer Eli Pawluk ten dollars for assaulting his son with an oil can.[36] In 1925, a particular trend in violent assaults in the Andrew district prompted JP Robert Mennie to say of the Ukrainian settlers: "There was too much fighting done amongst them with hammers."[37] The marked tendency of Ukrainians to arm themselves in altercations confounded the constabulary of the bloc. Years later, the only explanation that one veteran bloc policeman could offer was, "That is what they were used to at that time."[38]

Evidence suggests that the violent behaviour of the Ukrainian immigrants was a legacy of their historical experience in Galicia and Bukovina. Until the abolition of serfdom in the Austrian Empire in 1848, the landed gentry of

Western Ukraine used systematic violence to control the Ukrainian peasants who laboured on its estates.[39] Recalcitrant peasants suffered corporal punishment (usually beatings with whips or cudgels)--sometimes to the point of death. Even after the official end of serfdom, the violence cultivated under the feudal regime continued to bear bitter fruit. In post-emancipation Galicia and Bukovina, it remained acceptable for an employer to inflict corporal punishment on a peasant employee as chastisement for substandard performance or as incitement for greater achievement. Historian John-Paul Himka has noted that, on the eve of the First World War, manorial officials in Galicia still used the knout on hired Ukrainian labourers working in the fields of large estates.[40] Ukrainian historian Roman Rosdolsky asserted that the corporal punishment meted out by the manorial authorities to the Ukrainian peasantry had a "fatal, destructive influence on the peasant psychology as well as on the entire 'character' of that class."[41] True to the general profile of victims of violent abuse, many of the Ukrainian villagers became abusers themselves. Husbands beat wives, wives assaulted husbands, parents thrashed children, older or stronger siblings picked on their younger or weaker counterparts, neighbours brawled with neighbours. The pervasiveness of violence in Galicia and Bukovina conditioned the Ukrainian peasantry to accept it as a normal part of human existence. Himka observed that the games of peasant children mirrored the brutality of everyday life in the late-nineteenth-century Ukrainian village; in his words, "Corporal punishment had so permeated social relations that even herdboys after emancipation chose one of their number to be the 'mayor' of the pasture and he used a whip on the disobedient."[42] Himka also noted the existence of a Ukrainian proverb which roughly translates as: "Spare the rod and spoil the peasant" ("Khlopa ne byi, khlop bude hnylyi").[43]

The Ukrainians who immigrated to the New World between 1892 and 1914 carried the psychological scars of their violent past in Galicia and Bukovina. Roman Rosdolsky remarked that the Ukrainian villagers of Austria-Hungary exhibited a "slavish submissiveness and resignation" to "the lashings and floggings administered by the landlords, stewards, and manorial bailiffs."[44] According to Rosdolsky, they viewed such abuses as stemming from their misfortune at having been born peasants. The first Ukrainian settlers in Canada endured violence from authority figures with the same acquiescence. This behaviour astounded the British Canadians who encountered it, as is illustrated by the experience of immigration officer Thomas McNutt, related in the following passage by John Hawkes:

> Mr. McNutt tells...how he was requested to settle a number of Bukovinians. They arrived...in charge of a man whom Mr. McNutt describes as a "dandified Jew," a little runt of a man whom a stout boy could handle, and who had been sent up from Winnipeg in charge as interpreter.

> This man was armed with a whip, and big burly men meekly took chastisement from his whip as he ordered them around. Mr. McNutt cautioned him against this conduct, but he repeated the offence, and was again cautioned. He said it was the "only way to manage them and they were used to it." Presently Mr. McNutt saw him applying the lash to the women whereupon he kicked him off the station platform....[45]

The Ukrainian settlers not only accepted violence from authorities as natural, they displayed a casual attitude towards it in their family and intragroup relationships. Scholars have long pointed to the existence of pioneer-era Ukrainian-Canadian proverbs which condoned domestic violence--for example, "An unbeaten wife is like an unsharpened scythe" ("Zhinka ne byta, to kosa ne klepana").[46] Charles Young cited the translation of a Slavic couplet ("Love me true and love me quick, Pull my hair and use the stick") to demonstrate that Galician and Bukovinian women accepted wife-beating "as a matter of course."[47] The justification of violence (for instance, the battering or killing of an adulterous wife) in a great number of early Ukrainian-Canadian folk stories and songs seems to indicate that (at least some) Slavic settlers condoned it as an appropriate means of punishing immorality and/or vindicating family honour.[48] Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers and almanacs from the early twentieth century are replete with articles, stories, jokes, and cartoons depicting the pervasiveness of violence in Ukrainian pioneer society.[49] In the pre-1930 bloc, as in turn-of-the-century Western Ukraine, violence even played a role in social amusements. For instance, one popular party game of the Ukrainian colonists involved striking a blindfolded person who had to guess the identity of his attacker; if he guessed correctly, the administrator of the blow would take the place of the blindfolded individual. This game was played not only by children and adolescents, but by adults as well. Another example of rough entertainment from the Ukrainian colony was the dance-game "kopirushka." It required participants to imitate the improvised movements of a designated "captain." The captain beat dancers with a leather belt if they failed to perform to his satisfaction. A settler from the Smoky Lake district remarked that kopirushka never failed to liven up a social gathering of Ukrainian farmers.[50]

Clearly, a violent past in Galicia and Bukovina had affected the Ukrainian pioneers of Western Canada. Of the Ukrainians' propensity for assault, Charles Young would say: "Their historical background has provided them with an infinite number of excuses for that purpose and to these they have resorted with a vengeance."[51] The legacy of old-country brutality revealed itself in bruises, broken bones, and bloodshed in the new land. One Anglo-Saxon pioneer from Mundare observed that, through the fierceness of the Ukrainian-Canadian immigrants, the effects of "the sins of the Austrian barons" were being manifested upon Canadian soil.[52]

* * * * * * *

One of the most distinctive aspects of crime in the Ukrainian colony during the 1915-1929 era was the unusual settings of violent offenses. In the bloc, a large proportion of assaults took place in such unlikely places as wedding feasts, christening parties and funeral receptions. As a result, Charles Young redefined "assault," as practised by the Ukrainian settlers, as "a polite term for fighting which frequently occurs at their weddings and dances."[53]

In the bloc, the most notorious crime scene of all was definitely the Ukrainian-Canadian wedding. East central Albertans, both those of Ukrainian origin and those of other backgrounds, commented that violence at Ukrainian weddings was a widespread problem in the bloc during the early twentieth century. John Moisey, a Ukrainian resident of the Andrew district during the 1915-1929 era, recalled that, "There were not weddings without a fight, and there were a lot of killings as people used clubs or wagon rods to hit each other."[54] Veteran bloc policeman Dennis Mighall described the Ukrainian weddings he attended as celebrations "where excellent food would be served, and liquor from the local still" and where "invariably a fight would break out."[55] Another veteran detachment man, Ted Buchanan, remarked: "I would put in my show at a Ukrainian wedding, because, in the days when the moonshine was flowing, there was usually a fight--and sometimes there was a murder."[56] In 1915, during the preliminary hearing of a liquor case from the Vegreville district, Crown Prosecutor W.M. Corbett characterized the nuptial feasts of the Slavic settlers as follows: "It is a fact that the people go to these weddings,...drink for three or four days, and they usually murder somebody or stab somebody before they get through with it."[57] Bukovinian pioneers noted that festive violence was rampant in the Smoky Lake area during the pre-Depression era. One summed up the situation by declaring, "It was wild and crazy!" ("Dawno bulo puste, durne!").[58]

By 1930, the wildness of the Ukrainian wedding had already been firmly enshrined in Prairie legend.[59] In 1909, Western Canadian novelist Ralph Connor popularized its image as blood feast in his novel The Foreigner. The following extract from the book describes the Galician wedding of the immigrant girl Anka:

> ...in the foreign colony the festivities in connection with Anka's wedding were drawing to a close in sordid dance and song and in sanguinary fighting.
>
> In the main room dance and song reeled on in uproarious hilarity. In the basement below, foul and fetid, men stood packed close, drinking while they could. It was for the foreigner an hour of rare opportunity. The beer kegs stood open there were plenty of mugs about. In the dim light of a smoking lantern, the swaying crowd, here singing in maudlin chorus, there fighting savagely to pay off old scores or to avenge new insults,

> presented a nauseating spectacle.[60]

In The Foreigner, the festivities depicted above culminate with a police raid just as one Galician kills another in the fashion of a pig-sticking.[61] Few Anglo-Canadians doubted the realism of Connor's description of Slavic nuptial savageries. Indeed, it differed little from accounts of real-life incidents published in contemporary newspapers, magazines, and books. For example, in an article printed in The Christian Guardian, social reformer J.S. Woodsworth described the uproariousness of a Ukrainian-Canadian wedding that he attended in 1910:

> The other day, on invitation, I attended a Ruthenian wedding. Read the opening chapter of the most horrible book of Upton Sinclair--The Jungle. He knows whereof he tells. This wedding in so many ways reminded me of the description of Jurgis' wedding. Even many of the minor details I find correspond. This marriage ceremony was held at one of the Greek churches early in the morning. The feast began immediately afterwards in an adjacent hall and lasted till midnight. The programme consisted of eating and drinking and dancing, of talking and singing and shouting, of love-making and fighting all mixed up indiscriminately and long drawn out...it is a point of honour that every guest shall drink as much as he wishes: and these Ruthenians are such thirsty souls--especially when drinks are free! At five in the afternoon when I left, there had already been the first fight. The groom explained that the man had "come looking for trouble." He found it. We had wild excitement till a policeman had been summoned and taken off one or two. Then on with the dance and the music and the drink![62]

Other influential Western Canadian writers of the period also commented on the barbarism of Ukrainian weddings. In his book The Central European Immigrant in Canada, Robert England referred to them as "drunken brawls" where "moonshine spirits of a bad order" flowed freely.[63] In The Ukrainian Canadians, Charles Young noted that weddings in Ukrainian districts featured "the wholesale consumption" of moonshine over a period of two or three days and ended in "the traditional fight" which brought the celebrations to a close.[64] In an article in the Canadian Magazine, George Chipman quoted a Western Canadian judge who was heard to remark: "A Galician wedding has come to mean a calamity. These weddings too often mean a carouse ending in a fight and frequently murder."[65]

While it would be a gross exaggeration to suggest that Ukrainian-Canadian weddings frequently ended in murder, three homicides did take place at nuptial celebrations in the pre-1930 bloc. The first incident occurred in 1914, when Nikola Kutt was killed when a fight broke out at Ukrainian wedding festivities in the Skaro district. The authorities charged two Ukrainian men, Nikola Kindrat and Mike Wyrbitski, with the murder of Kutt, but, because "the evidence of several of the witnesses was of a very contradictory nature, as to where and how the deceased had come to his death," a jury acquitted the defendants.[66] A second wedding homicide took place in

1922 in the Smoky Lake district. In this case, two Ukrainian youths, Harry Droniuk and George Worasczuk, murdered Ukrainian farmer George Popowich. The two killers provoked a quarrel with Popowich during the wedding reception and beat him to death with grub-hoe handles. Justice Walsh of the Supreme Court of Alberta stated for the record that this case "was one of the most brutal crimes that had ever been brought to his notice," convicted Droniuk and Worasczuk of manslaughter, and sentenced them to ten years imprisonment at the Prince Albert Penitentiary.[67] The third case also occurred in the Smoky Lake district. In this 1924 incident, a Ukrainian farmer, George Elaschuk, clubbed his half brother to death for stealing sugar from his wagon during a wedding dance at the Ukrainian Hall in the town of Smoky Lake. Elaschuk received a life sentence for this crime.[68]

Each of these wedding homicides received extensive and sensationalistic coverage in Alberta's English-language newspapers. All of them shocked the Anglo-Saxon citizenry of the province. These three killings, however, were not premeditated murders, but assaults which unintentionally went too far.

Homicides were the most extreme manifestations of a widespread problem of violence at Ukrainian weddings. For every wedding marred by a murder or manslaughter, dozens were disrupted by full-blown donnybrooks, and hundreds by assaults. This problem was not confined to the east central

Albertan bloc, but surfaced in other Ukrainian communities of the Prairie West during the first three decades of the twentieth century.[69]

What aroused violent passions when the Ukrainian settlers gathered together? Contemporary observers almost universally blamed the problem on the excessive consumption of alcohol. In specific reference to Ukrainian weddings, one judge reasoned that, "When a store of kegs are emptied during the evening, there is sure to be trouble before morning."[70] Charles Young noted of the Ukrainians: "There can be no doubt that the undue prevalence of assault in their settlements is attributable to alcohol."[71] APP reports attributed violence in the foreign colony to the conspicuous consumption of moonshine. They claimed that the home-brew of the foreigners was "of the vilest kind" and that a draught or two of it "often set a man crazy."[72] Ted Buchanan, who worked at both the Smoky Lake and St. Paul detachments in east central Alberta, commented that the ingestion of moonshine led to violence at social occasions in the bloc, particularly when the Ukrainians mixed it with cheap wine.[73] The Galician and Bukovinian settlers, themselves, saw liquor as the root of disorder at their nuptial celebrations. Ukrainian pioneers informed researcher Demjan Hohol that, during the 1915-1929 era, "an unfortunate aspect of Ukrainian weddings in the Smoky Lake area...was widespread 'piatyka/pianstvo' ('excessive drinking'), which more often than not resulted in violent arguments and fights at what was supposed to be a joyous event."[74] In the end, nearly everyone in pre-Depression Alberta seemed willing to endorse Ukrainian-Canadian proverbs like "De put', tam i but'" ("Where there's drinking, there's fighting") and "Kolo horilky ne obiydet'sia bez biyky" ("When liquor's about, there's bound to be brawls") as thorough explanations of festive fury in the foreign colony.[75]

The problem, however, was too complex to be fully accounted for by such interpretations. Although there does appear to be a strong link between drunkenness and violence in the pre-1930 bloc, the emergence of two groups of Ukrainian-Canadian roughnecks probably played a more direct role in provoking confrontations at public gatherings in the community.

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The group which arguably deserves the greatest share of the blame for violence in the Ukrainian pioneer settlement was known as "the Jacks." The Jacks (or "dzheky" as the Ukrainian settlers called them) were a distinct subculture of early Ukrainian-Canadian society.[76] They were a class of itinerant labourers who worked on farms, on railroad gangs, in logging camps, in mines, and on construction projects. Ukrainian-Canadian historian Vera Lysenko stated that these Ukrainian workers played "the same role in Canada as the Negroes had played on the southern plantation: providing a continual source of cheap and available labour to build up the country."[77] William Czumer, a Ukrainian-Canadian school teacher and chronicler of pioneer life in east central Alberta, noted that it was important to distinguish the nomadic dzheky from the "poor uncles" ("bidni vuiky")--"the Ukrainian farmers who temporarily worked as frontier labourers and then returned to their homesteads."[78] In contrast to the "poor uncle," the Jack had no farm, no family, no permanent home, and no permanent job. He was a member of a "large body of floating labour" which wafted from frontier camp to frontier camp and drifted "in and out of the cities and back and forward across the harvest fields."[79] Jacks converged on the bloc settlement each year in search of employment on harvest and threshing gangs. Many wintered in the Ukrainian colony, working as hired hands on farms in exchange for food and lodgings.[80]

The dzheky displayed attributes of the classic deviant subculture. Writing in the 1940's, Vera Lysenko called the Jacks "the equivalent of today's zoot-suiters." She pointed out that they were young men who dressed in "outlandish fashion", spoke "their own lingo," delighted "in stirring up riots," and pitted themselves "against the existing social order."[81] Lysenko noted how the clothing of the Jacks differentiated them from other Ukrainians:

> They wore a distinctive dress which distinguished them from the other immigrants--a pathetic imitation of what they

> imagined to be the gentleman's dress of the Canadian: wide trousers with huge cuffs, shoes with thick toes; red neckties with gaudy pins; fancy arm bands and wide-brimmed black hats with tattered brims, worn dashingly to one side.[82]

In addition to their unique style of dress, the dzheky had their own distinct pattern of speech--a macaronic English-Ukrainian dialect which fused English words with Ukrainian grammatical endings.[83] The Ukrainian pioneers referred to the dzheky as belonging to a "Jack movement"--the "dzhekomakhiia."[84] This movement had its own value system which prized individual freedom, comradeship, valour, virility, cunning, action, adventurousness and revelry. It attached great importance to brute strength and fighting prowess. It scorned formal education and religion. By all accounts, the Jacks had little regard for what the future might hold or for the consequences of their actions. Vasyl Czumer described them as "persons unconcerned with the world--men for whom tomorrow only existed for the good time."[85] "Don't worry" ("Ne zhurys'") was the slogan of the dzheky, and, for this reason, the dzhekomakhiia was also known as "the Don't Worry Party" ("partiia ne zhurys'").[86] The dzheky spent their free time and meagre savings on carousing and gambling at their favourite haunts: the barroom, the bootleg joint, the billiard room, the dance hall, and the brothel.

It was chiefly the violence of the Jacks, however, which made them so notorious all across the pioneer West. Fighting among them was common, as is illustrated by the following account of a Dutch immigrant which describes dzheky encountered in a Prairie railway camp in 1911:

> Galicians are all mighty noise makers and fighters, crazy guys....The Galicians love to make music, the more noise the better. They can make an unbelievable amount of noise with a violin and a couple of harmonicas. The noise just winds them up and gets them in the mood to fight; very dangerous fights sometimes. This week I saw a Galician attack an Englishman from behind, he knocked him to the ground with one blow from a pick. Believe it or not the victim survived, but he was knocked unconscious. We have a fight every day, usually resulting from a card game.[87]

As one historian has noted, "So common were drunken brawls among Ukrainian labourers that an anecdote current in Creighton Mine in 1918 had the Finns building the local reading hall, the Italians organizing the local orchestra and the "Galicians" erecting the local courthouse (with the fines they regularly paid for drinking and fighting!)."[88] Like early-twentieth-century Ukrainian Canadians in general, the Jacks often wielded weapons in fights--spades, chains, iron rods, spikes, and the like. Although many Jacks carried knives and revolvers on their persons, these came into play more rarely. The pistol, in fact, seems to have served as the final accessory in the Jack's peculiar ensemble more than anything else.[89]

Scholars and contemporary observers have interpreted the violence of the Jacks as a natural reaction to brutal and exploitative conditions in mining towns and frontier camps.[90] In these environments, as one early-twentieth-century policeman noted, fisticuffs were "as common as beans, boils, and bacon" and fighting served as a "means of letting off steam."[91] Much of the venting of frustrations in the camps took the form of inter-ethnic clashes. In the early 1900's, immigrant groups from central and southeastern Europe comprised a large proportion of the work force on the labouring frontier of Western Canada. Reciprocal prejudices and antipathies soured relations among these contingents. As a result, outbreaks of violence between workers of different nationalities were commonplace.[92] For their part, British-Canadian labourers treated all "foreigners" with contempt and heightened camp tensions with their abuses.[93] Owners and bosses encouraged inter-ethnic conflicts as a simple means of forestalling strikes and unionization.[94]

On the labouring frontier, the lone Galician or Bukovinian became a target for harassment and exploitation by non-Ukrainian workers. Wisdom dictated that he link up with a pack of his countrymen for protection. In part, the Jack movement appears to have been a response to violence and mistreatment in the frontier encampments. In his book, Ukrainians in Canada, Orest Martynowych put this response into context:

> Immigrant labourers found themselves deceived, exploited and humiliated in an endless cycle of backbreaking toil and indebtedness. Daily, they were brutalized by the deplorable camp conditions, subjected to the arbitrary rule of contractors and foremen, and exposed to death, disabling injury and debilitating disease....To the real or perceived acts of aggression, often no more than disparaging remarks or gestures, immigrant labourers reacted with exaggerated apprehension, hostility and violence because the exploitation and humiliation they experienced aggravated the peasant's habitual attitude of mistrust. The youth and immaturity of many, and the stress created by constant movement and rootlessness, only exaggerated the potential for violent reaction. Without a legitimate community as arbiter and with only their own strength to rely on, they struck back fiercely when threatened. They had learned from experience that only the weak were overwhelmed and destroyed.[95]

The dzheky were, more or less, the fighting arm of the large Ukrainian contingents in the mining communities and construction camps of Western Canada. Immigrant Vasyl Czumer noted that the Jacks "were organized to rescue" Ukrainian comrades who ran into trouble.[96] As a force to be reckoned with, they proved formidable. In terms of ruggedness and fighting prowess, they ranked amongst the toughest men in the pioneer West. The "bidni vuiky" admired the Jacks for their brawniness and for the protection they offered to the greater mass of Ukrainian labourers.[97]

The Ukrainian settler's appreciation of the Jacks in the frontier mine or camp, however, turned to resentment whenever he encountered them outside of these elements. In the cities and rural communities, the dzheky turned from defenders into victimizers--venting their violent tendencies upon one another and other Ukrainian immigrants. The Jacks imported the brawling and barbarity of the bunkhouse into Ukrainian urban and rural colonies.

Simply put, the dzheky went to social events in the Ukrainian community to provoke fights or to take part in any altercations which might arise. Numerous crime reports from the east central bloc describe Jacks arriving at weddings or dances "looking for trouble", "wanting to lick someone" or "wanting to fight everyone."[98] Ukrainian pioneer Vasyl Czumer remarked, "If these hooligans appeared in a hall or at a wedding there was always an unpleasant disturbance....one of these 'Jacks' would have one too many and start to act smart."[99] Czumer added that, when policemen arrived upon the scene of a disturbance, the Jack would even grapple with them to "show how tough he was." Bloc settler John Kawyuk maintained that the dzheky did not go to a wedding to socialize, but "to get drunk and have a fight."[100] If initially the Jack could find no takers for his challenges, he could usually manufacture a confrontation with insults, boorish behaviour, or an unprovoked attack. Even when he had not turned up at a social event in a fighting frenzy, it took little to arouse his fury. Jacob Maydanyk, a pioneer-era Ukrainian-Canadian writer and humorist, noted that just looking at a Jack the wrong way could set fists flying; in Maydanyk's words, "When he put on a fancy suit...you couldn't even approach him."[101]

Violence at public gatherings served as both diversion and bravado for the Jacks. On the one hand, the bellicose dzheky seem to have relished fisticuffs or the administration of a beating. They revelled in hooliganism as sport and re-creation. On the other hand, they used fights to prove themselves and to win recognition in a community where, as landless and penniless hired hands, they had a very low status. Jacob Maydanyk observed that they "made their mark by fighting" at weddings.[102] "Making one's mark" consisted of demonstrating that one was the toughest man, or one of the toughest men, in a rural community. Unfortunately, in the course of proving himself, one bullying Jack could terrorize an entire Ukrainian district--disrupting every social gathering he chose to attend.

It was difficult to combat the hooliganism of the dzheky. Farmers who employed a disorderly Jack usually proved reluctant to let him go, because the problems he caused in his free time generally had nothing to do with his performance on the job.[103] As hired men, the dzheky had a reputation for hard work and played a key role in the development of the pioneer farmsteads in east central Alberta. Without the co-operation of employing farmers, a community proved relatively powerless to discipline unruly farm labourers. Vera Lysenko noted that "it was hard to influence the Jacks, as most were without parents and earned their own money."[104] The traditional restraining force of censure from relatives, friends, and neighbours had little effect on the dzheky, because the young men usually had no strong ties of family or fellowship in the rural communities where they worked. The admonitions of the local priest usually came to naught, because most of the labourers rejected the authority of the church and the Christian moral code. Consequently, as Vera Lysenko noted, "While most of the settlers kept all the unwritten laws of the community, the Jacks ran wild and cast a black mark on the Ukrainians."[105]

Most bloc settlers learned to endure the raging of the Jacks as they did Prairie thunderstorms or blizzards. Some even came to sympathize with the dzheky--in spite of all the trouble they caused. For example, Jacob Maydanyk remarked, "You couldn't really blame them, because they didn't know any better."[106] Ultimately, the men of the dzhekomakhiia continued their rowdiness until advancing age mellowed them, the Ukrainian-Canadian socialist movement absorbed them into its ranks, and the great eras of railway construction, coal mining and the hired hand came to an end.

* * * * * * *

Before its demise, the Jack phenomenon contributed to the rise of a new breed of roughnecks in the bloc settlement: a group known in the Ukrainian colony as "the Bulls" ("buhaii").[107] The Bulls did not develop the values and trappings of their own distinct subculture. Instead, they simply adopted those of the dzhekomakhiia. They took to dressing like the Jacks and to carrying revolvers. They became involved in vandalism and petty crime. Like the dzheky, their chief amusement in the bloc was brawling at weddings and dances.

The Bulls emerged from a generation of Ukrainian farm boys who had grown up during the most desperate years of the pioneer struggle. As children, they idolized the Jacks who worked on their parents' farms and tried to emulate their behaviour. In her book Men in Sheepskin Coats, Vera Lysenko noted that the dzheky exercised a "demoralizing influence on the sons of farmers, whom they fascinated with their yarns of adventure, their flashy costume, and their specious ideas of freedom and don't-worry-ism."[108] Lysenko observed that "often a fine type of boy fell in with these 'Jacks' and had his whole life ruined by their uncontrollable way of living."[109]

The values and attitudes of the dzheky appealed to the young men of the Ukrainian settlement. Like the Jacks, the Bulls knew the experience of poverty, had little or no formal education, and held little hope for what the future might bring. The "buhaii" grew up during the most brutalizing years of pioneering in east central Alberta. They spent their childhoods performing endless chores around the homestead--virtually from infancy. Their parents expected them to match the output of an adult labourer by age ten or eleven. As a youngster, the typical Bull lived with his family in a crude dug-out dwelling or one-room hovel, ate with his hands out of a communal bowl, drank out of a tin can, went barefoot during the summer, did the same during the winter (or wore homemade shoes of gunny sacks and rags), and had virtually no free time for play. During this era, one Ukrainian settler commented, "Children were growing up like barbarians."[110] William Pylypow, son of Iwan Pylypow (one of the original pioneers in the Edna-Star district), noted that the Ukrainian-Canadian boys who grew up on frontier homesteads were somewhat of a "lost generation":

> Well, even at our place at times, and certainly at the other places where the parents were poor, the children our age had a hard time. When there was only a little food, it had to be given to the babies and the younger children, and many of our age are stunted and suffered from lack of nourishment. So too with clothes and many other good things--the younger children got them. Then when schools were started in our areas, often several years later, we were too old to go.[111]

Given their childhood poverty and the drudgery of life on the pioneer farmstead, the dreams of a prosperous North American lifestyle had a strong hold on Ukrainian farm boys in the early twentieth century. Inevitably, these hopes became sources of frustration for them, just as they did for the dzheky who failed to realize ambitions of quick fortunes in the New World.[112] Neither the Jacks nor the Bulls were equipped for success in the new land. They were poor, uneducated, illiterate and foreign--all attributes which would lead to rejection by mainstream Canadians. Both groups were, in the description of historian Paul Yuzyk, "marginal men" in the "no man's land" between the cultural entrenchments of Ukrainian-Canadian and Anglo-Canadian society.[113] To those caught in this socio-cultural limbo, "don't-worryism" provided a ready philosophy of life and hellraising an effective outlet for discontentment.

Contemporary observers and post-1930 scholars have provided a number of correspondent explanations for the emergence of the Bulls. Robert England interpreted the appearance of an anti-social generation of young men in Ukrainian rural communities during the 1920's as a reaction to the grind and oppressiveness of family farmsteads:

> The young men are somewhat restive on their fathers' farms. Many of them like to spend much of their time in the towns about the poolrooms. Some of these sons, in order to provide themselves with money, have stolen wheat from their fathers and sold it. Most of the young men, unmarried, chafe under the parental roof and seek to be free lances to go where they wish, but have not the ability to stick to one job and master it. These young men have become a source of worry to the parents, a problem to the police, and a bad example to the adolescent boy....[114]

Ukrainian-Canadian scholar Paul Yuzyk viewed the lawless behaviour of the Bulls as the result of their rejection of traditional values:

> Too often these "marginal" people who cannot reconcile themselves with the culture of their parents, for which they have lost respect, fall into a moral anarchy. Too often they develop an inferiority complex and anti-social attitudes. The loss of a set of values, which is not firmly replaced by another set, causes demoralization of the individual and disorganization in the communities. The emotional conflict in such persons often leads to an undue tendency to commit crime.[115]

In the 1920's, the research of Charles Young attributed the disorderly conduct of the Ukrainian rural youth to a breakdown in parental authority:

> Lord of his home in the past, the Ukrainian parent has found that gradually his authority has waned. Whereas in the early days "the old men formed public opinion" in the communities, they no longer do so. The young men, surer of foot, more accustomed to the ways of the new world and slightly contemptuous of the old, have taken their place and have gone their own way. In many cases they have made a sorry mess of things. By staging wild parties, forming gangs, getting mixed up with the lawyers in the settlements, etc., they are giving the Ukrainian settlements a reputation for lawlessness and disorder....imperfectly assimilated adolescents, knowing a little English, without character training, and shut off from the traditional prohibitions of the older people become a serious menace.[116]

T.C. Byrne described the Bulls as only half-assimilated and, thus, estranged from both Ukrainian and Canadian society. He felt that this "maladjusted" state gave rise to criminality:

> The young Ukrainian Canadian finds himself suspended between two cultures. The standards of the home are at variance with those of the state. Frequently the Ukrainian youth rejects home standards without replacing them with Canadian ideas. He loses respect for all authority. Lacking a definite, assured basis of behaviour the young Ukrainian Canadian is more likely to commit offenses against the law.[117]

Byrne's final comment on the Bull phenomenon was that it was "of only passing significance" and a natural step in "the assimilative process." Many of Byrne's contemporaries, however, saw nothing at all "natural" in the riotous conduct of the sons of Ukrainian settlers.

Surprisingly, the Ukrainian-Canadian intelligentsia were probably more critical of the Bulls than British-Canadian pundits. During the pre-Depression era, the Ukrainian-language newspapers of Western Canada regularly featured articles and editorials condemning the deviant behaviour of young men in the bloc settlements. In the immigrant press, Ukrainian leaders maintained that the lawlessness of the Bulls stigmatized all Ukrainians as undesirable citizens--reinforcing the anti-Slav prejudices of British Canadians.[118] They represented the hooliganism of the Ukrainian rural youth as a great "national" tragedy for the Ukrainian people in Canada.

Some Ukrainian leaders, however, saw this ruffianism as merely the latest manifestation of an age-old problem of wayward youth. For example, Basil Ladyka, Edmonton's Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop, strongly sympathized with the "much-abused" younger generation of Ukrainian Canadians. He stated, "I do not believe that this young generation is steeped in sin. I know hundreds of young men...who are the finest type that could be desired....Of course, there are some young people today who are thoroughly bad, but when was there a generation without such black sheep?"[119]

The Bulls were definitely the black sheep of the Ukrainian colony. The police and the public considered them far more menacing than their foreign-born fathers had ever been. Unlike their elders, the Bulls had little or no fear of the Canadian police. APP veteran Cliff Gair, who served on detachment at Vegreville and Two Hills, noticed a marked difference between immigrants and their Canadian-born sons. Gair remarked, "The older people had a great respect for the police but the first generation Canadians were often pretty hard to handle."[120] Charles Young affirmed, "Among the Ukrainians the young men are particularly troublesome, as one may gather from a remark often made in contra-distinction--'The older breed weren't so bad.'"[121]

The Bulls' behaviour at weddings and dances exposed developmental scars suffered during their upbringing. Few of them could be described as "good mixers." They rarely conversed or danced at public gatherings, preferring to stand around the periphery--intently puffing on cigarettes and quaffing moonshine. They fit the description of Ivan Petrushevich, who noted in 1917 that the Ukrainian rural youth was "lacking mental stimulus":

> Their lives revolve around eating, drinking, sleeping, and working. When two young people meet, they have practically no topic of common interest. Of the outside world, with its manifold problems, its interests, its struggles, its joys and sorrows, they know nothing.[122]

At social events, the interactions of the Bulls consisted chiefly of jostling one another about with machismo bravado. One Bull would shove another, knock his hat off, or swat a cigarette out his mouth.[123] Sometimes these actions were designed to precipitate a fight. In many cases, however, they do not appear directed towards this purpose. The young men generally accepted this as good-natured amusement. As a celebration wore on, however, and as the young men imbibed more and more alcohol, the jovial slaps and pushes became less controlled and more likely to incite anger and confrontation. Then a fight would start--sometimes a brawl. Andrew JP Gregory Moisey felt that there was too much of this "rough fun" carried on around dance halls, parties, and weddings, and that this is what led to most of the fights in the Ukrainian colony.[124]

Some Bulls, however, went to weddings and dances with no other intention than to create disturbances. For example, Ukrainian toughs, Nick and John Chomaschuk, showed up at a wedding at Sunland, Alberta and "wanted to fight everyone."[125] Some Bulls even disrupted the weddings of their own siblings. One farmer in the Kahwin district had to lay charges against his own son for "making lots of trouble" at a family wedding and "wanting to fight everyone there."[126] John Frunchak precipitated a full-fledged brawl at a dance at Willingdon by marching into the middle of the dance floor and shouting, "I am John Frunchak and there will be no square dancing here!" He then declared that "he had paid fifty cents to get in the hall and would not stand for square dancing." The other Ukrainian farmers at the dance offered to give Frunchak his fifty cents back but, instead of leaving, the obstinate Bull started a fight which ended in a free-for-all.[127]

The potential for serious injury existed whenever a Bull started a fight at a wedding or dance. During the 1915-1929 era, many Ukrainian men came to social gatherings in the bloc with items such as iron bars, cudgels, brass knuckles, blackjacks, and jackknives tucked in their pockets.[128] As often as not, these items came into play during festive scuffles. Consequently, brawls at community celebrations in the foreign colony regularly resulted in more than black eyes and bloody noses for combatants.

The Bulls sometimes organized themselves into bands resembling youth gangs. The capers of small packs of brothers, cousins, or neighbours gave certain localities in the bloc settlement notorious reputations. Typically, the members of such groups became repeat offenders--perpetrating crimes ranging from vandalism, to petty theft, to aggravated assault. Charles Young noted that they were responsible for a "disproportionate occurrence" of Ukrainian-Canadian crime and "made an unfortunate reputation for the Ukrainians" which was "altogether out of keeping with the general and actual situation."[129] Young cited the Two Hills district as being the most crime-ridden area of the Ukrainian colony in east central Alberta and blamed this on the activities of young men from two families. He mentioned that one of them had been up for conviction seventeen times.[130]

The Bulls from Two Hills committed a wide variety of crimes, including cattle thefts and assaults. They proved particularly bold, using threats against policemen, justices of the peace, magistrates and Crown attorneys in attempts to get criminal charges against them dropped. In 1929, for instance, one of the Two Hills Bulls, John Pawluk, threatened APP Sergeant Hidson and Police Magistrate Gore Hickman with violence if they did not arrange a plea bargain for him in a case of theft. When they refused, Pawluk had his lawyer warn the two officials that he "had a bad reputation and that he or his friends would likely seek revenge if the prosecution went further."[131] In a report to police headquarters, Sergeant Hidson informed the APP Commissioner that this type of intimidation had been going on in Two Hills and Kaleland for some time.[132]

One of the bloc's most infamous Bulls was George Basaraba. He was, in the words of APP Inspector W.F.W Hancock, "the cause of considerable trouble in the Vegreville and Mundare districts" during the late 1920's and early 1930's.[133] By the time Basaraba reached twenty-one years of age in 1931, he had been convicted of numerous crimes (including: assaults causing grievous bodily harm, thefts, vagrancy and driving a car while intoxicated) and had served two prison terms. Yet, each time the Bull was released from jail, he would run wild again until the police managed to capture him. Evidently, apprehending Basaraba was a difficult business. Inspector Hancock commented on the Ukrainian lawbreaker's ability to escape arrest as follows: "In addition to parents and a large number of other relations he had many friends scattered through the district, also there were many who provided him with shelter and board through fear, thus he was successful in evading the police...."[134] Nevertheless, Basaraba went to jail for the third time in 1931 for five offenses: assaulting Ukrainian farmer Victor Koroliuk with an iron bar, striking Koroliuk's wife with a large stone, horse rustling, stealing a harness, and purloining a rifle.

Four Bulls plagued Constable Bill Reay during his tenure in the Andrew district. They were four brothers--Nick, Metro, John and George Pawliuk.[135] Their many crimes included assault, grain theft, cattle stealing, and unlawfully escaping custody. Their fighting careers included brawls at weddings and dances in addition to battles in Andrew's beer room and billiard hall. In one assault, the four Pawliuk boys ganged up on the Ukrainian manager of the Andrew pool hall, Harry Hackman, and "nearly kicked him to death with their heavy boots." During their trial for this offence, they "seemed to enjoy telling how they nearly killed Hackman"--an outspokenness which earned three of the brothers jail sentences and the other one a fine.[136] Bill Reay's ongoing struggle with the Pawliuks demonstrated how much trouble one small gang of rampaging Bulls could cause a lone detachment constable. Reay declared that the family "had given (him) more trouble than any in the country, one of them was all the time in jail...(and)...they had no fear of jail or fines."[137]

The most notorious of the Pawliuk boys was Nick. He was known as "the Andrew Terror." Nick Pawliuk did not confine his criminal pursuits to the Andrew district, however. They carried him into other areas of the bloc and brought him into conflict with several APP detachment policemen. Those who laid charges against him included Constable Warrior of Fort Saskatchewan, Constable James of Lamont, Constable Reay of Andrew-Willingdon, and Corporal Nalder of Vegreville.[138] Pawliuk was chronic offender who spent most of his young adulthood behind bars. In 1925, he was sentenced to two years of imprisonment in the Prince Albert Penitentiary on two counts of theft. In March 1927, two months after his release from the penitentiary, Pawliuk was convicted of horse stealing and sent for six months to the Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol. When he had served this sentence, it did not take "the Andrew Terror" long to again run afoul of the law. Within a few weeks, the authorities arrested him for seven new acts of horse theft, found him guilty as charged, and handed him a ten-year prison term.

In 1930, Nick Pawliuk's lawyer, A.H. Gibson of Fort Saskatchewan, gave some insight into the mentality of the young Ukrainian outlaw in a letter to the Deputy Attorney General:

> Nick Pawliuk has shown himself quite indifferent to punishment, because his living conditions in jail either here [at the Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol] or in the Prince Albert Penitentiary are much better than at home.
>
> He simply stole because he wanted the thing stolen or he wanted the money which it would bring. He tried to evade detecting and punishment but knew that if he was caught the only thing that could happen to him was a term of imprisonment. What bothers him most is being deprived of his liberty. Aside from that the jail is better than any home he ever had.[139]

Pawliuk's unconcern for the consequences of his actions and his indifference to punishment appear to have been representative of both the Jacks and the Bulls. His apparent remorselessness about his transgressions also seems to have been characteristic of them.

* * * * * * *

There was, however, one major difference between the violence of the Jacks and the Bulls. The wedding brawling of the latter group had overtones of the youth gang protecting its home territory. Many of the confrontations at Ukrainian nuptial celebrations involved young men from a particular farming district confronting guests from other districts. It appears that, in many cases, Bulls would not tolerate the presence of strangers or outsiders at festivities in their rural community.[140]

Such territorial confrontations were common at wedding celebrations in Galicia and Bukovina. Historian John-Paul Himka observed that "antagonism between villages, which often passed into brawls" was a feature of traditional peasant life in Western Ukraine during the late nineteenth century.[141] Kazimierz Dobrowolski's study of peasant traditional culture details the motivations for such clashes:

> A village community with a strong sense of internal solidarity had also a well-defined sense of distinctiveness in relation to the outside world. Thus the inhabitants of neighbouring villages were always treated as strangers. They were treated differently, though with varying degrees of antipathy. The following statement by one of my informants will best illustrate this ethical relativism: "It is not permissible to beat the people from our own village but the people from other villages can (and should) be beaten."
>
> Such an attitude often led to con-

> flicts with the inhabitants of other communities, which sometimes developed into prolonged and acute antagonism.[142]

Dobrowolski noted that such hostility "often led into open brawls, in which groups mainly of youngsters took part."[143] Wedding celebrations were typical locations for these confrontations--particularly ones involving a bride and groom from two different villages.

Dobrowolski pointed out that one of the functions of inter-village antagonism was "to provide a barrier to the access of strangers into the village."[144] Peasants understood that outsiders could, through courtship and eventual marriage, come to own property in their village. As surrendering scarce land to unfamiliar rivals was unpleasant for village youths, they resented the socializing that took place at weddings between maidens from their commune and lads from other villages. This enmity regularly sparked confrontations.

The territorial antagonisms of the Ukrainian peasants appear to have survived the uprooting of migration. During the 1892-1914 era, peasants from a particular village in Galicia or Bukovina often left en masse and settled together in the same vicinity of the Canadian West.[145] Consequently, most rural communities in Ukrainian-Canadian blocs were composed of settlers bound by strong old-country kinship and village ties. The immigrants often evidenced this connection by naming a new community after a common village of origin in Ukraine.[146] Unfortunately, when the Slavic pioneers preserved the old solidarity and cultural distinctiveness of a particular Eastern European commune, they also retained old animosities for countrymen originating from other villages.

Actually, the pattern of Ukrainian settlement in Canada may have exacerbated the frictions between different groups of Ukrainian peasants. In Galicia and Bukovina there had been conflicts between villages situated in close proximity to one another. These clashes stemmed, in part, from marginal differences in dialect and folk culture. In Canada, however, Ukrainian immigrants from one village sometimes settled beside immigrants who had lived in a completely different region of Western Ukraine. Thus, dissimilarities in dialect and folk culture between adjacent groups of Ukrainians were usually far greater in Canada than they had been in Galicia or Bukovina. Consequently, the antipathies of one group for another tended to be much more pronounced in the new land.

There are many examples of old-country-style antagonisms surviving amongst Ukrainian settlers in Canada. In the early twentieth century, the most readily apparent conflicts in the bloc settlement existed between Galician and Bukovinian settlers.[147] Not only did the two groups differ in dialect and customs, but, more critically, in religion. Most Galicians arrived in Canada as Greek Catholics while Bukovinians entered the country as Greek Orthodox Christians. Canadian immigration officials noted a fierce friction between the two groups and attempted to keep them separated during the colonization process.[148] By their own choice, Bukovinians and Galicians generally chose to settle apart from one another in east central Alberta. This, however, was not always possible. When circumstances forced them to share the same immediate living space, confrontations generally ensued.[149]

In fact, intense animosities existed even between Ukrainian groups from the same Austrian crownland. For example, pioneer J.M. Lazarenko recalled pitched battles in the east central Albertan colony which took place between groups of Ukrainian school children who had originated from different sectors of Galicia:

> There were two factions representing those who originated from the northern part of Halychyna [Galicia] and those from the south. There was considerable differences in speech, pronunciation, and generally in the language. West of the school, where we lived, parents came from the southern part and the others from the northern part of the province. Many a time following a dismissal of the school at 4 o'clock, the east waged a fight against the west, and one side would be charging the other for some distance and then retreat.
>
> On one occasion the west picked up some clubs, hid them in the grass along the road and, when the east charged, the west grabbed the clubs and really gave it to them. This fighting continued for a number of days.[150]

It seems that older males fought similar battles, for the same reasons, at weddings in the Ukrainian districts.

Compounding the problem of nuptial violence was the fact that many marriages in Canada united men and women who had not only two different villages of origin, but often different districts or regions of origin (and, sometimes, different religious adherences). Given the Ukrainian intragroup antipathies of the era, it is no wonder that such unions produced fisticuffs and assaults at weddings feasts. Fights often escalated into full-blown donnybrooks because kinsmen and friends of the original combatants would frequently join the fray on both sides.[151]

Finally, one of most elemental traditions of the Ukrainian wedding feast encouraged fighting: the custom of inviting all the members of the local community to the celebration. Tradition obligated the host of a wedding to welcome anyone who might appear.[152] This was an invitation to disaster as far as veteran APP constable Ted Buchanan was concerned. He observed that most fights at Ukrainian weddings stemmed from the fact that a Ukrainian host often invited or welcomed two guests who were sworn enemies of one another:

> Two people who hadn't been together in years and were at loggerheads would meet at a wedding, get boozed up, and then there was an argument and sometimes there was a murder or manslaughter. They would go after one another with a neck yoke or

> an axe handle or something. Or sometimes one waylaid the other on the way home.[153]

Buchanan believed that the placing of hostile antagonists in such close proximity would generally result in trouble anywhere. This rarely happened in the course of daily life, where enemies tended to avoid one another; but the Ukrainian wedding produced an unnatural situation (from a British-Canadian perspective) where two enemies ended up in the same place at the same time--both convinced of their right to be there and adamantly opposed to the presence of the other.

* * * * * * *

The one criminological theory which may offer the greatest insight into violence in the pre-1930 Ukrainian colony is the "subculture of violence thesis" developed by sociologists Marvin Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti.[154] This theory (based on the integration of research in the fields of sociology, psychology, psychiatry, and criminology) provides an intriguing framework for understanding the major trends of violence in the bloc: the pervasiveness of assaults, the use of weapons in altercations, the brawling at weddings and public gatherings, and the aggressiveness of the Jack and Bull movements.

The subculture of violence thesis maintains that violence is viewed as an everyday part of life in certain sub-societies--particularly in those of working classes and/or underclasses. The theory holds that violence "can become part of the life style" in such subsocieties; in other words, the members of the culture group use physical attacks as a routine means of conflict resolution.[155] As has been noted, the toleration and the acceptance of assaultive behaviour appear to have been prominent cultural themes of early Ukrainian-Canadian society. Possibly as a result of the conditions of life in Galicia and Bukovina, the Ukrainians who immigrated to east central Alberta were disposed to the use of aggression as a means of settling disputes.

Wolfgang and Ferracuti asserted that the members of the subculture of violence share a common defense mechanism. This is based upon assumptions about the violent tendencies of other members of their subsociety; that is, a member assumes that other members of the subculture will invariably respond with violence in certain situations--particularly after certain stimuli have been observed.[156] In early Ukrainian-Canadian society, the public expression of anger seems to have triggered such a defense mechanism and its violent reaction. From descriptions of assaults which took place in the pre-1930 Ukrainian colony (as found in crime reports and criminal case files), one can create a paradigm of the defense mechanism of the Ukrainian pioneer. It appears that the assaultive behaviour of the bloc settler hinged on three assumptions made by him about the violent tendencies of his fellow Ukrainian colonists. First of all, he presumed that a public expression of anger by another

Ukrainian would be followed closely by a physical attack. Secondly, he assumed that this attack would begin with a hard first blow--probably with a weapon. Thirdly, he believed that, if this first strike was a decisive one, he would be unable to protect himself from subsequent blows. Based on these three assumptions (and on grounds of self-defence), the Slavic settler determined that he had to make a preemptive and preventative blow against the potential attacker. Moreover, he reasoned that this stroke was best rendered with a weapon to ensure that it was effective.

This is a representation of what one might describe as a "gunslinger mentality"--save that the Ukrainian pioneer would grab for a stick, neck yoke, or other utensil in a tight spot instead of a six-gun. Like that of the quick-draw artist, this defense mechanism depends very much upon the "it-was-either-him-or-me" rationalization of violence. This justification helps to explain why, in the subculture of violence, assaultive behaviour produces little or no feelings of guilt in the aggressor. It also illuminates the rationale behind the pervasive use of weapons in arguments. Furthermore, it explicates why the use of a weapon in a fight did not result in a loss of face in the Ukrainian community. The Slavs do not seem to have heaped scorn on the wielder of the cudgel or iron bar, labelling him as a "dirty fighter." According to Wolfgang and Ferracuti, such a legitimization of extreme aggression serves as a cultural theme of the violent subsociety.[157]

How does the subculture of violence thesis help to explain the behaviour of the Jacks and Bulls? First of all, it holds that "the subcultural ethos of violence" will be "most prominent in a limited age group, ranging from late adolescence to middle age."[158] This range encompasses the age groups of both the Jacks and the Bulls. According to Wolfgang and Ferracuti, young men in the subculture of violence share the violent tendencies of their larger sub-society, but unleash them with greater frequency and ferocity.[159] This seems to be an apt characterization of the assaultive behaviours of the Ukrainian roughnecks. According to the criteria used by Wolfgang and Ferracuti, the Jacks and the Bulls qualified as two subcultures of violence within early Ukrainian-Canadian society (which, itself, qualified as a subculture of violence within contemporary Canadian society).

Wolfgang and Ferracuti also give insight into Ukrainian wedding violence through the proposition that members of the subculture of violence often commit violent acts only in specific situations.[160] Jacks and Bulls showed up at weddings and dances anticipating the possibility that a fight would break out, if not ready to provoke it themselves. In fact, the bloc settlers, as a whole, came to these festivities aware of the less-than-remote chance that some type of an altercation would take place. The highly-charged atmosphere of the Ukrainian wedding, where all guests warily watched for the outbreak of trouble, itself increased the probability that confrontations would arise. Any number of factors could unintentionally set off a fight. The significance of a look, remark or jostle could be misinterpreted and spark a sudden violent reaction.

* * * * * * *

As non-Ukrainians rarely socialized with Ukrainians in the pre-Depression bloc, they seldom found themselves in the social situations which precipitated Ukrainian violence. The one predominant characteristic of Ukrainian-Canadian violent crimes is that they involved Ukrainians assaulting other Ukrainians, Ukrainians brawling with other Ukrainians, and Ukrainians killing other Ukrainians. In 1931, Charles Young made the following statement:

> As a matter of fact, the Ukrainians fight with no one so well or so often as they do among themselves....As a rule they fight with their own people, but when otherwise, it is usually the fault of outsiders--English, French, Scandinavians, as the case may be, who go uninvited to the Ukrainian weddings, get drunk and start trouble.[161]

The indisputable truth of this observation explains why British Canadians lived in the bloc without fear of the Slavic settlers. The lack of a perceived threat to the general population is evident in the coverage of Ukrainian violence in the early-twentieth-century English-language press. However deplorable a problem British-Canadian writers and journalists perceived it to be, they never treated it as a menace which threatened Anglo-Saxons. For instance, J.S. Woodsworth characterized the Anglo-Canadian reaction to Ukrainian wedding violence as follows:

> A feast--a fight--broken heads--unpronounceable names--the same thing over and over again, with wearying monotony. "Those beastly foreigners are at it again!" exclaims the public and dismisses the subject.[162]

This is the reaction of the aloof spectator. As Britishers were not themselves caught up in the vortex of violence in the Ukrainian community, they could afford to observe it with dispassionate superiority. Indicative of this reaction is Emily Murphy's account of her visit to the Ukrainian colony in 1916. Murphy commented on the "tremendous fighting energy" of the Slavs with the detachment of a Roman patrician viewing a gladiatorial spectacle:

> They are bonny fighters these Ruthenians from Galicia, and if they cannot "have the law" on one another they may always have the consolation of fisticuffs. And what pray, are muscles hard for and skulls thick, except to fight. Riddle me that![163]

Here, Murphy expressed the contemporary British-Canadian expectation that Slavs could not be expected to behave in other than a barbarous fashion, yet with the self-assurance that such behaviour would not touch the world of the Anglo-Saxon.

What caused, then, the unthreatened Anglo-Canadians to preoccupy themselves with the subject of Ukrainian violence? It was the outlandishness of violent acts in the Ukrainian bloc which attracted so much attention from the police, the press and the public. One finds in the crimes committed by the Galicians and Bukovinians bizarre details which would appeal to the curiosities of tabloid readers. In terms of novelty, a Ukrainian wedding donnybrook rated higher than a run-of-the-mill barroom brawl. A battle with pitchforks proved more intriguing than a routine back-alley stabbing. An axe murder made for more tantalizing and shocking reading than one committed with a gun. Over time, the sensational coverage of Slavic crimes in newspapers and the peculiar particulars of these offenses had the psychological effect of convincing both the police and the general populace that Ukrainians were committing a far greater number of violent crimes than their numbers warranted.[164] This belief held sway for decades--despite the fact that no reliable statistics existed to support it.

Within the Ukrainian colony, the fact that most assaults were committed by Ukrainians also impressed upon the bloc's Anglo-Saxons that the Slavs were unusually prone to violent crime. Somehow they overlooked the reality that the Ukrainians, because they constituted a large majority of the population of the colony, should have been committing most assaults in the region.[165]

Ukrainian assaults also attracted attention because their circumstances violated established principles of behaviour in the Prairie West. For example, the Ukrainian tendency to grab for weapons in a scuffle went against the established British-Canadian standard of "the fair fight." In his 1909 novel The Foreigner, Prairie writer Ralph Connor had his British-Canadian protagonist reprimand a Galician for using a stake as a weapon during a brawl. The hero tells the foreigner, "Only a fool loses his temper, and only a cad uses a club or a knife when he fights...We won't stand that in this country."[166] After introducing the Galician to gentlemanly fisticuffs (and thrashing him in the process), the protagonist warns the immigrant that he "must learn to fight without club or knife" or he would end up (like so many other Galicians) "in prison or on the gallows."[167] A common perception of Prairie citizens in the early-twentieth-century was that the Ukrainian settler did not know "how to fight like a white man"--that he would "always pick up something in a fight--rock, knife, or piece of two-by-four."[168] In the eyes of British Canadians, this "uncivilized" behaviour proved the Slav a brute.

Finally, the settings of Ukrainian assaults challenged the values of Alberta's Anglo-Saxon Protestant majority. While British Canadians and Ukrainian Canadians both participated in drunken brawls, they differed in the locations of their combats. The Britishers tended to limit fracases to the barroom or billiard hall. The Slavs let fists fly in a wider variety of settings--most disturbingly at weddings, christening parties, and funeral receptions. To Anglo-Canadians, such behaviour at celebrations of Christian rites and sacraments was an abomination. Moreover, the fact that these celebrations (including requisite drinking and optional violence) often took place on Sundays aroused the Sabbatarian wrath of the WASP.[169] To newspapermen, Protestant missionaries, and social reformers, the Ukrainian wedding became a favourite illustration of both Ukrainian criminality and barbarity. This representation served as an especially useful instrument for temperance crusaders, prohibitionists, and Sabbatarians in harnessing the support of Western Canadian nativists to propel their respective causes.

## CHAPTER III

# THE DYNAMICS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT IN THE BLOC ENVIRONMENT

> *Under their new and unfamiliar conditions, a simple uneducated race needs careful watching and judicious handling.*[1]
>
> --NWMP Superintendent
> C. Constantine, 1901

> *You Canadians damned funny people. You make law and you no care if people break it.*[2]
>
> --Ukrainian-Canadian settler, 1918

> *As a matter of fact...there is considerable difference between enforcing the law and having it made effective. Any law can be enforced by the employment of detectives, the apprehension of offenders, and the infliction of punishment by the courts, but in order that the law shall be effective, it is necessary that it shall be generally observed by the populace....The efficiency of the [police] force...depends upon it being able to obtain and maintain the confidence of the public.*[3]
>
> --Alberta Attorney General J.E.
> Brownlee, 1921

> *The development of a sense of responsibility in the exercise of power is the one great essential in the promotion of better citizenship....By finding a common denominator between the instincts of the new settler and the institutions of the country, we may enrich and develop both....*[4]
>
> --Robert England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada
> (1929)

The government sent constables on detachment duty in the Ukrainian colony to be agents of assimilation. It required them, as it did of English-speaking school teachers, to be torch-bearers of its self-professed superior culture and civilization to what it had determined to be a backward race of people. It expected the police to compel the Slavic immigrants of the bloc settlement to conform to British-Canadian laws and standards of behaviour without delay. This mandate was impossible to fulfil. Before the Slavs could or would adapt, the British-Canadian justice system in the foreign colony would have to undergo some adjustments of its own.

The position of the detachment constable was, after all, quite vulnerable in east central Alberta during the early twentieth century. Most of the rural police posts were one-man detachments, none larger than two-man operations. The ratio of policemen to settlers in the bloc settlement was very low. Scattered around each post on hundreds of farmsteads were thousands of Ukrainian settlers with whom the Anglo-Saxon constable shared no common ties of language, culture or experience. To get his job done, the bloc policeman relied on the co-operation of these immigrants. He needed them to report crimes and to provide information during investigations. The Ukrainian settlers, however, chose to shun Canadian lawmen whenever possible. In 1921, APP Commissioner W.C. Bryan noted, "Where a serious crime is committed in these districts it is impossible to attain evidence against them, and they are too prone to look upon any policeman as an enemy instead of a friend."[5]

The inability to apprehend Ukrainian offenders was what bothered the police establishment the most about law enforcement in east central Alberta. In the colony, criminals regularly slipped through the clutches of law enforcement officers. While this problem can be, in part, attributed to the scarcity of policemen in the bloc, the greater cause stemmed from the lack co-operation offered to the police by the Slavs. Ukrainians often chose not to report crimes to the authorities. As a result, some criminals remained unexposed and went unpunished. Smoky Lake pioneer Pearl Strynadka provided the following example of how the widespread fear of the police shielded lawbreakers in the bloc:

> One man had a wife who suddenly disappeared. People thought he killed her because he was selling off her clothes. But nobody said anything to the police. Years later, a man who had bought the land dug up a skull. It turned out to be the wife's. Now it was sure the husband had killed her, but he was somewhere far away by then.[6]

Even when the police did learn of crimes in the Ukrainian colony, they had difficulty gathering the necessary evidence to solve cases. For example, in 1919, the police could make no headway in the investigation of the double-murder of Ukrainian settlers Matey and Anna Yaremijczuk at Duvernay, Alberta. In his 1919 Annual Report, the APP Commissioner lamented the fact that none of the Ukrainian neighbours of suspect Mike Paulichuk would supply the police with useful information about the Yaremijczuk case:

> A very large number of people were examined, but any evidence we could obtain failed to help us, as the district where the murder was committed is an all foreign settlement, it is very hard to get any evidence which will assist us...[7]

If compelled to appear in court, reluctant Ukrainian witnesses usually said little or purposely contradicted themselves. Overall, policemen and judicial officials characterized the evidence presented by Ukrainian Canadians at trials and preliminary hearings as inconsistent.[8]

The Ukrainian settlers actually went so far as to directly assist criminals to escape arrest--even those of the most heinous kind. In 1912, for instance, Maxim Pylypczuk, a Ukrainian immigrant from Galicia, murdered his wife on their homestead in the Pakan district, successfully evaded the authorities, and disappeared. The mounted police explained their failure to apprehend the killer as follows: "There is no doubt that Pylypczuk obtained shelter and assistance from some of the Galicians to whom he was known."[9] Superintendent A.R. Cuthbert of Edmonton, commander of the RNWMP's "G" Division, noted that the handful of policemen in the bloc found it extremely difficult to track down Ukrainian criminals because the fugitives received assistance from "compatriots."[10] Cuthbert felt that this situation could not be allowed to continue.

The Ukrainian settlers' fear of lawmen, their refusal to co-operate in the investigation of crimes, and their aiding and abetting of criminals threatened to disrupt the primary mission of policemen in the bloc (the primary duty of policemen everywhere): the maintenance of order. To uphold his authority and to preserve the peace in the foreign colony, the detachment man was forced to make adjustments--to adapt his style of law enforcement to local conditions. This would prove to be a fateful step.

* * * * * * *

One point is fundamental to the understanding of the operation of the British-Canadian justice system in the Ukrainian colony during the 1915-1929 era: the detachment constables were the pivotal figures. They controlled how the system functioned at the local level. The tone and pattern of policing within a particular bloc settlement district very much reflected its constable's personality and individual priorities. The detachment man exercised a considerable influence over justices of the peace in his area of jurisdiction. He usually decided which JP would hear a court case. For the most part, he functioned independently of outside direction and interference from the police establishment.

This had not always been the case. In fact, the preeminence of the detachment man in the local justice system, like the rural police detachment itself, was a relatively new phenomenon in the early-twentieth-century West. In Alberta, it had not existed prior to the arrival of the first Ukrainian settlers in 1892. The massive influx of European immigrants into the Canadian Northwest between 1890 and 1914 necessitated a tremendous change in the policing of the region. During the 1875-1890 era, the NWMP had been concentrated in large numbers at divisional points such as Fort Saskatchewan, Fort Battleford, and Fort Macleod. Beginning in the 1890's, however, the mounted police began to be scattered over the rural countryside of Saskatchewan and Alberta in a multitude of one-man and two-man posts.

This change in the deployment of the mounties brought about a deeper transformation of the force. Away from the strict military drill and discipline of the large police garrisons, the constables at small rural detachments became more and more like civilian policemen. The rigour of the barracks gave way to the latitude of the small post. The wide distribution of the police and a shortage of senior staff made impossible the strict training, drills, inspections, and supervision of the past. By 1914, at rural detachments in the West, the original military character of the mounted policeman survived mainly in his "symbolic uniform and rifle."[11] He had achieved an unprecedented degree of independence from the police establishment.

In 1917, when the APP took over the regular policing of Alberta, this autonomy would be augmented. APP officers rarely made inspections of rural detachments. When they did, the detachment men were always forewarned of their coming.[12] Provided that a constable kept his paperwork in order, maintained the peace, and ensured that the community was not bombarding the APP Commissioner or the Attorney General with complaints about his conduct, he was left to do as he liked.[13]

The police establishment accepted the proliferation of rural detachments only reluctantly, realizing the inherent dangers in decentralization and dispersal. In 1918, for instance, Inspector D.G. Fisher, the commander of the APP's "A" Division, bemoaned the major drawbacks of small rural postings:

> In the matter of crime, I find that the majority of our detachments, which consist of one man, have more work to perform than can be accomplished properly, it being absolutely impossible to attend to all complaints immediately, with the result that in some cases the unavoidable delays have been fatal from a police standpoint....[14]

The APP Commissioner noted his concerns about rural police posts in his annual report for the year 1918:

> A detachment of one constable is not effective, either from a disciplinary or police point of view; and the majority of our detachments should be of a strength not less than two constables.[15]

Despite its detriments, the one-man detachment became the norm in east central Alberta and other regions of the province. The APP Commissioner explained that the government's "desire to economize to as great an extent as possible" made this imperative.[16]

In east central Alberta, the detachment constable exploited his relative independence for two purposes. Firstly, he attempted to bolster his authority and community support. This aim, important as it was at any one-man or two-man post where the policeman was vulnerable, was doubly so in the alien environs of the Ukrainian colony. Secondly, he tried to reduce an overwhelming set of duties to manageable proportions. Ultimately, the constable set his own priorities in policing--tailor-made for the specific circumstances faced in his own jurisdiction.

* * * * * * *

In the Ukrainian colony, the lack of community support for the police proved to be the major frustration for the detachment man and the chief barrier to effective law enforcement. During the 1915-1929 era, the lawmen of the bloc began to actively cultivate the co-operation and trust of the Ukrainian settlers in a variety of ways.

The first steps taken in this direction were modest ones. The bloc police began to learn a few phrases in the Ukrainian language. In the beginning, this was done simply to mollify the Ukrainians; the police learned a few "soft words" in the Slavic tongue to soothe settlers in tense situations.[17] Eventually, however, some bloc policemen (particularly those posted in the interior of the colony) came to appreciate that knowledge of the Ukrainian language made virtually all functions of law enforcement in east central Alberta more practicable. One contemporary summed up the situation as follows: "A knowledge of Ukrainian is as indispensable within the boundaries of the block as French in Quebec or English in Ontario."[18] Cliff Gair, an APP veteran who served in the colony at the Vegreville and Two Hills detachments, affirmed that "policing the predominantly Ukrainian region necessitated learning some Ukrainian." Of the bloc interior during the early twentieth century, Gair remarked, "You never heard English spoken."[19] Veteran bloc policeman Dennis Mighall maintained that the detachment man in the Ukrainian colony had to learn at least a "smattering" of the Slavic tongue to have "a good relationship within the community."[20] A good relationship with the bloc settlers, Mighall stressed, was needed by the police of east central Alberta "in order to do their job well." After two years of work among the Slavs at Andrew, Bill Buchanan also came to realize that fluency in Ukrainian was necessary for effectual police work in the foreign colony. As a result, the constable decided to take part in impromptu language classes upon his transfer to Smoky Lake. He described these sessions as follows:

> My magistrate up there first--Percy Sutton--could speak the Ukrainian language and write it and read it. So he

> and the lawyer and the bank manager and myself and the station agent used to get together in the lawyer's office and have a little class in the Ukrainian language. I got so I could speak it very good.[21]

The actual degree of Ukrainian-language fluency attained by the bloc constables is difficult to judge. Some of them (Constable Reay, who was posted at Andrew and Willingdon, for example) allegedly spoke Ukrainian well enough to carry on a regular conversation.[22] Most bloc policemen, however, probably did not acquire any real fluency in the Slavic tongue (particularly if they served at posts on the edge of the colony). While they might have understood the gist of what the Ukrainians were saying, and vice versa, they still required the services of interpreters for serious police investigations. For less critical matters the policemen and the immigrants stumbled through awkward exchanges as best they could. As one APP veteran put it, "Sometimes if you couldn't speak their language, you learned to speak their broken English."[23]

In the interior of the bloc settlement--at the posts of Andrew, Smoky Lake and Willingdon--the detachment men tried to fraternize more with the Ukrainians to reduce tensions. One of the most valuable steps taken by the policemen, both from the standpoints of public relations and of maintaining the peace, was to attend weddings, dances and social gatherings in the Ukrainian rural communities.[24] This often deterred troublemakers from creating disturbances. Even when it did not, a policeman was on the spot to break up fights and, if necessary, arrest the instigators. Excluding a few instances when a constable was himself assailed by Ukrainian roughnecks, a lawman's presence at any social event ensured the peace.[25] APP veteran Ted Buchanan noted that a great deal of informal peace-making could be done at public gatherings such as weddings, picnics and sports days. He observed that, because the whole community would turn up, these occasions were ideal opportunities for the policeman to intermediate in personal and factional conflicts. Buchanan described his peace-making technique as follows:

> You'd say, "What's the trouble between you two guys?" You'd play the father confessor or something like that and help settle problems. And you did a lot of that and it worked out well....
>
> It paid for you to do that. It kept down the trouble and it kept a lot of extra work off of you. If you were there (at a sports day in the country, for instance)...all the people from around the district were there; and you settled a lot of disputes.
>
> I'd get them together and ask them, "What are you arguing about? Why can't you get along?" By the time you got through with talking to them, there was nothing to it. It was just built-up antagonism over the years....I'd ask them to shake hands and quit it and start over again. I'd say, "You're only causing trouble between yourselves and your families." I said this because one guy's kids were usually mad at the other guy's kids on account of the trouble between the parents. It would show up in school....[26]

Some bloc policemen even actively participated in Ukrainian festivities. In the Andrew-Willingdon area, for example, Constable Bill Reay went far beyond serving as watchdog at Galician and Bukovinian weddings; he danced, drank, and (on occasion) got royally drunk at these events.[27] To the Anglo-Canadian minority in Andrew, Reay sometimes seemed to border on "going native"--to be scandalously close to adopting the attitudes and habits of the Ukrainian "foreigners." His regular carousing with the Slavic settlers and his unlawful consumption of their home-brew did not help to allay these concerns.[28] Yet, Reay's unorthodox behaviour, especially his willingness to share a drink with the Slavs at a wedding or dance, made him a more familiar and approachable figure. He became, arguably, the most popular lawman to serve amongst the Ukrainians of the pre-1930 bloc--and this popularity proved useful when it came time to investigate a crime.[29]

Another relatively well-liked bloc policeman was Constable Bill Buchanan. Like Reay, he used his appearances at weddings to improve his image in the Ukrainian community. Buchanan, though, did not win favour with draughts of Slavic moonshine, but with his musical talents. He frequently teamed up with Ukrainian musicians to entertain guests at wedding feasts in the Smoky Lake district. William Chahley, a Ukrainian resident of the district, recalled:

> Ukrainian country weddings carried a reputation in a class by themselves for

> conviviality, good food, and merriment to which Dad [Kost Chahley] contributed several years of his skill on the violin. He was usually accompanied by others skilled on accordian and dulcimer. William E. "Buck" Buchanan of the Alberta Provincial Police detachment in Smoky Lake often participated with his drums when occasion would release him from his duties, rapping out a staccato up-beat tempo that was certain to stimulate a crashing foot stamp to the floor by the males, whilst the ladies "soft shoe" dipped into the beat as only the grace of a female dancer allows it.[30]

Without socializing with the Ukrainians bloc settlers at weddings and at other times, it is doubtful that Buchanan could have overcome their fierce initial opposition to his police work or won their eventual acknowledgement of him as "an effective and highly respected peace officer."[31]

A major step in bridging the chasm of distrust which divided the Slavic settler and the British-Canadian constable was the demonstration of the impartiality of British-Canadian justice. During the 1915-1929 era, most detachment men realized the necessity of this step soon after their arrival in the foreign colony. As APP veteran Dennis Mighall pointed out, because the bloc policemen were "completely outnumbered" by the Ukrainians in their patrol areas, "they could have been in trouble" if they treated the Slavic settlers unjustly.[32] Cliff Gair, who served at the provincial police posts in Vegreville and Two Hills, described the prudent way to police the bloc settlers as follows: "If you were fair and treated them the way you'd like to be treated yourself, you didn't have any trouble. You couldn't be officious or throw your weight around or you didn't get the cooperation you needed."[33] To convince the Ukrainians of the fairness of justice in the new land, the detachment man had to do two things. First of all, he had to mask any prejudices he might have had against the Galicians and Bukovinians. Secondly, he had to overcome the Ukrainians' age-old notion that policemen arbitrarily enforced the law. Constable Bill Buchanan attempted to win the trust of the bloc settlers by emphasizing that favouritism did not play any part in his actions:

> I told them, "I may have to come after you today, and tomorrow you'll be calling on me if someone has stolen something from you. [If that happens,] I've got to come out and help you." I was told I had to educate them and I did.[34]

A detachment man's efforts to win over the sceptical Ukrainians, however, could be completely undone by the blatant discrimination of local justices of the peace. He tried to control the situation by hand-picking the most tolerant JPs to hear cases involving Slavs. By the 1920's, few bloc policemen took Ukrainians before a justice of the peace who displayed a marked anti-Ukrainian bias. Ultimately, this informal method of controlling the JP courts reduced hostile feelings towards Anglo-Canadian officials in the foreign settlement and made the detachment constable's job much easier.

In their attempts to reduce the levels of discrimination exhibited by justices of the peace in the bloc, detachment men were aided by the economic realities of life in the rural colony. For the most part, Anglo-Saxon JPs in east central Alberta operated town businesses which depended on the patronage of local farmers. Dependence on farmers in this region, of course, meant dependence on Bukovinian and Galician agriculturalists. Gradually, the bloc JPs came to understand that unfair treatment of the Slav in court harmed their business interests, because the aggrieved settler would stop doing business at their shops and stores. Moreover, the officials learned that discrimination also cost them the patronage of the relatives and friends of the ill-treated Ukrainian plaintiff or defendant.[35] Thus, although the old prejudices remained in the hearts and minds of many British-Canadian JPs in the foreign colony, they could not afford to put them on public display.

In the effort to win the support of the Ukrainian settlers, the lawman found that an impartial enforcement of the law was sometimes not enough--that sometimes one had to bend the rules. The typical bloc policeman proved willing to subordinate by-the-book enforcement to the ultimate goals of facilitating the smooth adjustment of the immigrants to the justice system, alleviating tensions within the Ukrainian colony, and reducing his own work load.

Many detachment men found that one secret of effective policing in the foreign colony was to keep as many disputes as possible from going to trial.[36] Constables found that they accomplished two things by convincing individuals to settle squabbles out of court. First of all, tensions between disputants could be reduced, because court costs, lawyers' fees, fines, and jail sentences could be avoided. This made for a better chance of reconciliation between antagonists and, ultimately, less work for the policeman in the future. Secondly, the constable increased his prestige when he proved to be a successful mediator. Peacemaking could give the lawman a reputation as a benign and fair individual which would go a long way towards reducing the anxieties that the Slavic settlers had in dealing with him.[37] As the Ukrainians gradually overcame their fear and mistrust of the detachment man, they became more and more liable to report crimes, provide tips, aid in investigations, and act as witnesses for the Crown.

Another effective strategy of law enforcement in the pre-1930 bloc was to avoid the prosecution of minor offenses. Sometimes letting an offender off with a warning bore better fruit than penalizing him did. APP veteran Ted Buchanan explained why policemen let some malefactors go unpunished: "Every time you arrested a man you were supposed to bring him into court. But, occasionally, the less they knew at headquarters, the better it was....That would help your image in the community."[38] A typical example of this approach was the release of a disorderly drunk after a night of sobering up in the jail cell. In the bloc, the most common leniencies in law enforcement involved the illicit liquor industry.

* * * * * * *

Although it had a less notorious reputation than areas in the southern part of the province (the Crowsnest Pass region, for instance) the Ukrainian colony was probably the foremost hotbed of Albertan moonshining during the 1915-1929 era. On a per capita basis, the Ukrainian settlers who lived in the bloc settlement near Edmonton likely ranked first among Alberta's peoples in the production and consumption of illicit alcohol. Violations of the liquor laws in east central Alberta became so commonplace that the region's policemen deemed it senseless to attempt to enforce the liquor statutes. Ultimately, circumstances forced the lawmen to accept that, for the sake of order in the Ukrainian community, it was best to ignore the illegal manufacture and imbibing of home-brew.

Proving that the Ukrainian colony was a fountainhead of Prairie moonshining on the basis of the police records is impossible. While the bloc had its fair share of convictions under the Inland Revenue Act (the federal statute banning the unlicensed manufacture and/or distribution of liquor--known as the Excise Act in later years), the number of I.R.A. cases in the bloc did not exceed the totals in several other regions of Alberta.[39] Anecdotal evidence, though, suggests that police records do not accurately reflect the true scale of the home-brew industry in east central Alberta.

One celebrated case which clearly illustrates the gargantuan scale of moonshining in the Ukrainian colony took place in 1920. In that year, an Inland Revenue Officer from Ottawa paid a visit to the hamlet of Smoky Lake. There he called upon Bill Buchanan, the local APP constable. At the time, Buchanan was being visited by his brother Ted--another provincial policeman. The federal investigator questioned the two Buchanans about the extent of moonshining in the Ukrainian colony. The following is Ted Buchanan's account of what then transpired:

> Bill told him, "There's a still in every third house."
>
> He says, "You're crazy!"
>
> I said, "No, he's not."
>
> This was in the evening. We had even seen two or three stills that day. He was the Revenue Officer from Ottawa and we wanted to prove to him how many stills there were in that area. So, the next morning, we left.
>
> We drove by car and we passed two farm houses and we searched the third one. We passed the next two, we searched the third one. And in thirteen houses, we got eleven stills....So how many stills were on that road?[40]

The Buchanan boys, in fact, set a Canadian police record for their seizure of eleven stills in one day. To put this achievement into perspective, in the 365 days of the previous year, all of the lawmen in the entire province of Alberta had only managed to uncover 167 stills.[41] The APP took great pride in the Buchanan brothers' exploit and celebrated it in the newspapers. The Buchanans, however, did not view their record as a magnificent accomplishment. This was a feat they claimed could be equalled or bettered on any given day in east central Alberta during the 1920's.[42] Based on their combined experience of more than a decade of police work in the bloc, the brothers would estimate that at least one out of every three Ukrainian farmers in the region operated a still during the 1915-1929 period. For a variety of reasons, however, lawmen in the bloc usually chose not to prosecute Ukrainian moonshiners.

Chief among these reasons was the prevalent belief that the distilling of vodka was an age-old custom of the Slavs--one so important to them that it was impossible to stop. APP veteran Ted Buchanan commented on the bloc settlers' manufacture of home-brew as follows: "They made it for their own use. That was their national instinct in Europe--they made their own booze. Any five-year-old Ukrainian boy could tell you how to make it; he knew how it was done."[43] Buchanan's opinion seems to have been shared by almost all of the men who served on detachment in the foreign colony during the 1915-1929 period.

Canadian scholars, too, have long viewed moonshining as part and parcel of the Ukrainian immigrants' cultural baggage.[44] They assume that the Ruthenians, being of peasant stock and Central European origin, "had been accustomed in their homeland to making enough vodka for their own use from potatoes and grain screenings...and continued the practice in Canada."[45] In 1931, sociologist Charles Young called the making of home-brew a custom "which the Ukrainians brought with them, the legality of which they had no reason hitherto to doubt."[46] Four decades later, Prairie historian James Gray declared, "There was a good deal of home distilling of booze on the prairies--before, during and after Prohibition. The peasants who were settled in their...Ukrainian...blocs were only doing what their forefathers had done for a thousand years when they made their own 'ceremonial refreshments.'"[47] In recent years, Ukrainian-Canadian scholars have expressed the same opinion about the origin of bloc moonshining.[48]

No compelling evidence has ever been offered, however, to support the claim that Ukrainians distilled moonshine back in Galicia and Bukovina. The practice is not mentioned in the historical records of the 1892-1914 era. Most significantly, contemporary Ukrainian temperance literature from the two Austrian crownlands (which discusses every contributing factor to widespread alcoholism among the Ukrainian peasantry) makes no mention of homemade spirits.[49]

Circumstances made it unlikely that Ukrainians distilled their own spirituous liquors in Galicia or Bukovina during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. Up to the year 1875, the gentry had a legal monopoly over the production and sale of spirits in the two crownlands ("propinatsia"--the right of propination).[50] A network of small distilleries in the Ukrainian villages produced vodka ("horiwka") which was then sold exclusively through village taverns. The lord of the village manor owned both the local distillery and the local tavern. The landlord's production and distribution of vodka was a very profitable and carefully-guarded monopoly.[51] The drink was, by far, the most popular alcoholic beverage among the Ukrainian peasantry. Moonshining by the Ukrainian peasantry would have cut into this profitable enterprise and been severely punished. Moreover, the detection of illegal distilling in the old country would have been relatively easy. In Galicia and Bukovina, Ukrainian peasants lived together in villages where the concealment of a still would have been virtually impossible. The still's fire, the tell-tale odour of fermenting mash, and the distillation apparatus could not be masked in the congested village environment. Around each village, the countryside offered few hiding places for the potential moonshiner (in stark contrast to the parkland of east central Alberta where stills could be effectively hidden in a tract of thick bush or forest). In Galicia and Bukovina, the small farm strip of each peasant was located in close proximity to the plots of others. Pastures and wooded areas around a village were communally-owned or belonged to the lord of the local manor. The peasant-villagers of Western Ukraine simply had no place to hide a still where it was reasonably safe from detection.[52]

Even when the Austrian government ended the landlords' lawful monopoly over the distillation of spirits in 1875, this did not create a climate any more favourable for the production of illicit liquor in Galicia or Bukovina. Although officially deprived of their lucrative and exclusive privilege of manufacturing spirits in 1875, the landed gentry continued to distil vodka for decades after this date.[53] Moreover, the government allowed the landlords to maintain the exclusive right to own village taverns in Western Ukraine until 1910. Actually, the mock conclusion of propination in 1875 merely gave the manorial lord one more means to punish upstart Ukrainian home-brewers--as in addition to the rough justice he could exact himself, he could have charged such persons for violating Austrian law.

Thus, Ukrainian-Canadian moonshining does not appear to be a practice directly imported from Galicia and Bukovina. Yet, the bloc settlers' knack for producing homemade vodka is indirectly related to their Old World experience. The emigrants from Western Ukraine did come to Canada with the knowledge of how to produce spirituous liquor. In fact, many Ukrainian-Canadian pioneers had distilled alcohol in the old country--not for their own use, but as workers in the sprawling network of small Galician and Bukovinian distilleries.[54] In these establishments, peasants laboured over the same type of primitive pot stills that they would later build in Canada to manufacture moonshine. In east central Alberta, such stills would cover the countryside during the 1915-1929 era and produce "horiwka" identical in quality to that made in Western Ukraine.

The first emergence of a Ukrainian home-brew industry on the settlement frontier of the Canadian Northwest is not surprising. Throughout history moonshining has been a practice largely confined to communities on the edge of civilization--to frontier settlements and rural backwaters. The isolation of the pre-1930 bloc afforded opportunities for Ukrainian home-brewers similar to those offered by the backwoods of Kentucky to the famous moonshining fraternity of that state. Actually, during the early twentieth century, the Ukrainians produced illicit spirits for many of the same reasons as the Kentucky hillbillies.[55] Some of the moonshining motivations of the Slavic settlers, however, were truly unique.

The Ukrainians had two main reasons for making home-brew. First of all, they enjoyed the taste of it. The vodka distilled on the homestead in east central Alberta had the identical flavour and kick of that made in the old country. This drink had been the favourite alcoholic beverage in Galicia and Bukovina--so popular that it was the only one served in Ukrainian village taverns.[56] The same quality of liquor was not generally available at bars or liquor vendors in Western Canada prior to 1930. A second fundamental impetus for Ukrainian-Canadian moonshining was that it reduced the expense of alcohol consumption for the relatively impoverished Ukrainian settlers. The price of a bottle of home-brew was less than half the cost of an equivalent bottle of store-bought liquor. If a settler distilled vodka for his own use, he enjoyed even more substantial savings. Many Ukrainian settlers had no choice but to distil or purchase moonshine for wedding celebrations, because they could not otherwise afford to regale a multitude of relatives and guests with the prodigious quantities of alcohol customarily required for these occasions.[57] Of course, during Alberta's Prohibition era (1916-1924), illicit liquor was the only alcohol available to the Slavic immigrants.[58]

The immigrant settlers also distilled moonshine for a number of other reasons. The Ukrainian pioneers considered it to have beneficial medicinal qualities and to be essential for the preservation of good health.[59] These beliefs had been commonly held by Ukrainian peasants in Galicia and Bukovina. Samuel Koenig noted that the turn-of-the-century peasants of eastern Galicia considered vodka "the best cure for all kinds of disease."[60] During the Spanish Influenza epidemic of 1918-1919, the Ukrainians in east central Alberta consumed large quantities of moonshine as a preventive medicine and a remedy.[61] Many settlers took a shot of vodka before breakfast to fortify themselves for the day's labours. In 1925, one mounted policeman made the following observation of Ukrainian attitudes towards home-brew: "Many of them maintain that they have been used to liquor since childhood, and believe that it assists them in the performance of hard manual labour on their homesteads."[62]

There were times when the Ukrainian pioneers needed alcohol for the observation of customs and rituals. For instance, vodka was necessary to perform traditional toasts during the engagement and marriage process.[63] When carollers visited homes during the Ukrainian Christmas season, tradition demanded that they be treated to horiwka. The host of a wedding, christening party, or funeral dinner bore the same obligation to provide guests with spirits. During "prowody" (memorial services which took place at church cemeteries on the first Sunday after Easter), the immigrants poured vodka on the graves of kinsmen and toasted the deceased.[64]

Some Ukrainians found in the profit motive one final reason for distilling vodka. In the first decades of this century, they sought ways to supplement their income to support their families and to develop their Canadian homesteads. Many Ukrainian settlers looked upon moonshining as merely one of several ways of raising a little more cash. The start-up costs of this potentially lucrative sideline were negligible. A primitive still could be constructed of everyday items found in any household.[65] The ingredients required to produce a batch of home-brew were inexpensive; sugar and yeast cakes were relatively cheap to buy; grain and/or potatoes for mash came from the farmer's own fields.

During the Prohibition years of 1916-1924, moonshining became an even more attractive venture for the struggling Ukrainian settler in east central Alberta. When prohibition became law, the bootlegger could add the former imbibers of store-bought liquor to his list of customers. In 1920, the Attorney-General of Alberta, J.R. Boyle, estimated that the average operator of an illicit still in Alberta made an annual profit of $1000.[66] It is doubtful, however, that the typical commercial moonshiner in east central Alberta ever came close to earning this much. The home-brew market in the bloc was relatively saturated. Because so many farmers in the settlement made their own vodka, the price a moonshiner could command there was relatively low. If he charged too much, his customers would simply buy their alcohol from one of his competitors or make it themselves. Consequently, the profits of a Ukrainian moonshiner might enable him to buy a threshing machine, purchase an extra quarter section of land, or build a North-American-style house a few years in advance of his neighbours, but modest achievements such as these marked the usual limits of his financial gain. The bloc would not produce a Ukrainian-Canadian Harry Bronfman or Emilio Picariello. As one bloc policemen noted, the Slavic moonshiners and bootleggers were all "small potato men."[67]

* * * * * * *

In the 1915-1929 era, detachment constables in the Ukrainian bloc devoted little energy to ferreting out the local moonshiners. The majority of policemen in the settlement did not personally support prohibition legislation and refused to make the suppression of the moonshine traffic a priority. They felt that the illicit distillation of spirits was a natural byproduct of the province's unpopular liquor legislation. Even after prohibition was repealed, APP constables had no desire to launch a full-scale campaign against the network of stills in the Ukrainian colony--because they felt that this would undermine community support for their police work.

The enforcement of the liquor laws put the bloc policemen in the awkward position of waging what they perceived to be an unnecessary war on the culture of the Ukrainian immigrants. To Constable Ted Buchanan, moonshining was for the Slavic settlers, simply, "their national way of living."[68] The east central Albertan constables correctly deduced that the consumption and distillation of home-brew did not in any way conflict with the cultural mores of the Ukrainian immigrants. One contemporary explained the problem as follows:

> The Ukrainian immigrants soon found that proper behaviour according to their standards might not be considered proper by Canadians. This was evidenced by their frequent infringement of the liquor laws....Ukrainians failed to understand why making or selling and much less

> drinking home-brewed liquor should constitute an indictable offence.[69]

Like the Ukrainian immigrants, the constabulary of east central Alberta did not understand why the government treated moonshining as such a grave transgression. During the 1915-1929 era, the bloc police tended to regard it as a victimless crime, or, as they described it, "a good offence."[70] Ukrainian pioneer William Chornlesky noted that the detachment men in east central Alberta rarely prosecuted moonshiners in the pre-1930 era--unless the lawbreakers "got out of hand."[71] Veteran bloc policeman Dennis Mighall confirmed that APP constables in the Ukrainian colony preferred to "turn a blind eye" to liquor infractions whenever possible--particularly to the consumption of home-brew at weddings.[72]

Much of the policemen's sympathy for the Ukrainian moonshiner stemmed from their own "wet" sentiments. Most of the bloc policemen were drinkers and some, like Andrew's Bill Reay, actually became regular patrons of Ukrainian bootleggers.[73] At the St. Paul detachment, Serge Zolotoohin drank the home-brew he confiscated on police business. When APP headquarters sent Zolotoohin the order to destroy a seizure of illicit spirits, the constable noted that "it was just a question of chucking the empty bottles away."[74] Ukrainian settler Harry Onyschuk of Willingdon claimed that one bloc policeman proved willing to ignore his manufacture of moonshine in exchange for a sample of his home-brew.[75] Such behaviour was not uncommon among lawmen in pre-Depression Alberta, where even some of the highest-ranking members of the police establishment could be counted amongst the bootlegging fraternity.[76]

Many of the constables who served in east central Alberta saw the home-brew industry as playing an important and necessary role in the economic development of the immigrant colony. Moonshine profits could help develop an impoverished farmstead or rural community at a faster rate. Many lawmen did not have the heart to arrest a struggling farmer who had turned to selling home-brew in the desperate attempt to make ends meet on his pioneer farmstead. The reluctance of the police to charge such offenders is illustrated by the following account of Serge Zolotoohin who served on detachment at St. Paul in the late 1920's:

> Once I was out riding, as the roads were impassable for motor traffic after heavy rain. I wasn't sure of my way, so when I came to a homestead I rode up and dismounted. As I stepped into the porch I heard the rear door bang. I went round the back and saw a man running with a barrel, which seemed heavy. I raced after him and caught him just as he was spilling it. It was moonshine, and I saved a little. Enough to convict him.
>
> We went back to the house. It was only a small hut, with a low ceiling and one window. His wife was inside with their children. There were eight of them. They slept on the floor in a row, covered with cow-skins instead of blankets.
>
> The man was Ukrainian and he couldn't speak good English. He asked me what would happen to him. I told him. He said nothing, and then he began to

> cry. I looked round at the family. I knew as well as he did that while he did his time the woman and children would starve. His wife didn't cry. She stared at me with hatred and then with fear. She didn't ask me not to take him. I don't suppose she knew enough English to do that. When I told him to get dressed she threw a stick of wood at me.
>
> The man turned on her and said something harsh. He was afraid of her making me angry, I think. She didn't care a damn, but she pulled herself together and said, "So sorree."
>
> He took a long time putting his things on. I stood by the door, waiting. Then they started saying good-bye. The woman had given in now. She knew he had to go and she was weeping, and a little girl started crying too. The children crowded round the man, clinging on to him.
>
> I went out and waited. I looked round the farm. It would be years before he made it pay enough to get clothes and things for the children. That explained why he was making moonshine, probably. He was taking an intolerable time saying good-bye....
>
> I mounted my horse and rode away.[77]

Like Zolotoohin, the typical bloc policeman realized that most Ukrainian moonshiners made home-brew for their own use or for the dollars needed to provide their families with the bare necessities. This awareness made the prosecution of illicit distillers distasteful to him.

The bloc policeman also proved reluctant to prosecute Ukrainian moonshiners because he realized that most of them could not afford to pay the steep fines assessed for violations of the Inland Revenue Act. The usual penalty given to someone caught in possession of a barrel of mash or a still was a fine of $200 or more--an enormous sum of money in pre-1930 Alberta. As many Ukrainians moonshiners could not raise the amount demanded by the courts, a high percentage of those charged for violations of the Inland Revenue Act went to prison. This particularly bothered detachment constables because jailed moonshiners often left behind wives and families in a desperate state, usually for a period of several months. When this happened, the friends and relatives who were forced to provide for such families resented the police for causing unnecessary hardship. Technically, the obligation of supplying relief fell to the local municipal district, but the municipal councils invariably neglected to support welfare cases.[78] Nevertheless, to avoid being placed in an awkward position, councillors pressured the local detachment man to refrain from prosecuting Inland Revenue cases.

Justices of the peace also disliked police actions against local moonshiners and bootleggers. Whenever a policeman arrested a person for possession of illicit alcohol, he had to bring the suspect before a local JP. Understanding that the liquor laws were very unpopular in the Ukrainian colony, and knowing that any conviction of offenders would be even more despised, justices of the peace proved loath to take liquor cases. Many JPs dissuaded police from making arrests or declined to issue search and seizure warrants.[79]

To search for a still or a cache of home-brew on private property, a lawman required a "warrant for search and seizure." When local JPs refused to issue such a warrant, the detachment constable could do little or nothing to combat local moonshiners. To alleviate this problem, the Alberta government arranged for most of the bloc policemen to be appointed federal excise officers.[80] Upon appointment as an excise officer, the detachment man received a "writ of assistance" which empowered him to search any building or property without a warrant. If an officer found any evidence of the illicit manufacture of liquor, he could seize it and apprehend the suspect. If he found any evidence of another crime during a liquor raid, he could also confiscate that and make an arrest. Those empowered with a "writ of assistance" wielded an extraordinary authority which could be easily abused. Settlers resented the use of the writ, feeling that it violated their civil rights.

The bloc policeman who persisted in searching for stills found that he encountered such fierce resistance that it made his job almost impossible to perform. Ted Buchanan, reflecting upon the seizure of eleven Ukrainian stills in one day, noted the reasons why he and his brother thought it unwise to repeat the feat:

> It was pretty tough on them to find that we were taking their stills....They were little stills...small things, you see. They were making it for their own use. That was the only time we ever did that. It was a trick in a way. It didn't go over too good. And I didn't like it. It

> was just a way to prove to the Revenue man how many stills there were in that area.[81]

Grandstanding for the Inland Revenue officer, in fact, almost cost Constable Bill Buchanan his job. He so angered the Ukrainians of Smoky Lake that they tried to drive him out of town with a petition.[82] Leading the protest was one of the eleven moonshiners the Buchanan brothers had charged on their prolific day of seizures.

Ultimately, the bloc policemen decided that the drawbacks of combatting the illicit liquor traffic far outweighed the benefits of the struggle. In fact, they came to appreciate that foregoing the prosecution of liquor cases was a linchpin which secured the wheels of British-Canadian justice during their steady advance in the Ukrainian colony. By the 1920's, these officials had realized that this compromise enabled them to maintain authority and preserve order in east central Alberta more effectively than by-the-book law enforcement. This strategy resulted in more co-operation from the Ukrainian populace of the bloc settlement than would have been possible otherwise.

Realizing that overlooking liquor infractions actually made bloc constables more efficient in dealing with more serious crimes, the police establishment gave tacit support to their approach. If there is any doubt that APP headquarters preferred to turn a blind eye to the widespread illicit liquor industry in east central Alberta, one need look no further than the personnel file of Constable Bill Reay. Reay became involved with a ring of bootleggers while posted at the APP detachment at Rimbey, Alberta. Concerned residents of the Rimbey district became so upset by this, that they petitioned the Attorney General's Department for Reay's removal.[83] In response to this petition, a plainclothes detective was sent to Rimbey to investigate the situation. He reported to the APP Commissioner that he had no doubt that Reay was "in with the moonshiners."[84] This investigation should have resulted in the dismissal of Reay, but it did not. Instead, APP headquarters merely transferred Reay out of the Rimbey district. His new destination: the Ukrainian colony in east central Alberta. Ironically, this evidently corrupt policeman--a known bootlegger--was transferred to an area that had a reputation in police circles as a moonshining hotbed. What was going on here? Simply, the battle against the widespread home-brew industry in east central Alberta was not a priority of the APP.[85] Besides, it was considered imprudent to dismiss a trained police officer over "a bit of booze."[86]

In effect, during the 1915-1929 period, a truce existed in east central Alberta between Ukrainian liquor offenders (producers, distributors, and imbibers of home-brew) and local justice officials (detachment constables and justices of the peace). This convenient peace, however, would be frequently disturbed by outsiders from Edmonton--Inland Revenue officers, liquor board investigators, and members of police flying squads. The actions of these city-based operatives severely strained relations between the camp of bloc settlers and that of bloc lawmen and JPs. At times, the Edmontonians made a shambles of British-Canadian justice in the foreign colony.

* * * * * * *

Before exploring the operations of liquor investigators in east central Alberta during the 1916-1929 period, one point should be emphasized: ferreting out moonshine and moonshiners in the Ukrainian colony could be a very difficult and frustrating business. For a brief period after his arrival at a detachment in the bloc settlement, a constable armed with a "writ of assistance" might enjoy some initial successes in the war against local moonshiners. We need only consider the Buchanan brothers' record of eleven still seizures in less than twenty-four hours at Smoky Lake. Once the policeman gained a reputation as a hard-line enforcer of the liquor laws, however, distillers became more careful and finding stills became much more difficult.

The detachment man had to wear his uniform at all times which made him conspicuous when he travelled through his patrol district. Neighbours and relatives often warned moonshiners of the presence of a policeman in a rural community well in advance of his arrival at their farmsteads. Because of this rustic "early warning system," most attempts to seize liquor proved fruitless--particularly when a constable had become well-known as an Inland Revenue crusader. As telephones became more and more common after 1914, it became especially difficult for the police to find illicit stills in rural communities. In 1918, the Commissioner of the APP commented on this problem:

> The movements of our men are watched and telephoned from one small town to another. Every stranger going into any of the small towns and settlements where there is any illicit sale of liquor going on, is looked upon with suspicion; and even with men working under cover it is becoming more difficult to cope with this traffic.[87]

Even when the police had solid leads on rural moonshiners and bootleggers, liquor raids often failed. In 1922, one policeman gave the following explanation for these unsuccessful operations: "Rural telephones are responsible for many failures of searches, the persons concerned being notified of the presence of officers in the district."[88]

The Ukrainians became experts at hiding stills and avoiding prosecution for Inland Revenue violations. First of all, to make detection very difficult, stills were hidden deep in the bush, often on a vacant, uncleared quarter section of land. Thus, even if a policeman found one, it would be difficult to determine the identity of its operator--

unless he had time for surveillance (which was unlikely). Usually, the most the lawman could do was pour out any mash and alcohol, seize parts of the still, and destroy the remainder of the apparatus. To avoid such an occurrence, the prudent moonshiner periodically moved his outfit from one hiding place to another. Ted Buchanan commented on the difficulties he experienced in uncovering the stills of Ukrainian distillers:

> A lot of them would set them among haystacks. Some of them had them cached out in the bush. Some of them had them underground.
>
> I found one time that there was smoke coming out of the smoke stack on a farmer's chicken house. This in itself wasn't unusual. Farmers often had a stove in the chicken house for heating it up in the winter so that chickens would lay the eggs. But I found it strange that there was smoke coming out of that smoke stack in the summer. And I went in there and there was no fire in the stove--the smoke was coming through the floorboards!
>
> We couldn't move the building--it was solid--but there was one of those big water troughs for the windmill and it was empty. And we saw that it had been moved back and forth. So we slid it back and there was a trap door. Below that, there was an underground tunnel going right underneath the chicken house. The still was operating there.[89]

One of the most popular hiding places for Ukrainian distilling apparatuses was in the vacant dug-out dwellings ("zemlianky") which the Slavs had inhabited as newly-arrived immigrants.

Even if the police knew that a man was involved in moonshining, it sometimes proved impossible to find his still or make an arrest. For instance, the men who served at the Andrew detachment knew that Alexander Bockanesky of Luzan, Alberta was making and selling home-brew, but they were never able to locate his distillery or lay charges against the wily Bukovinian. Bockanesky had hidden his still on an island in Whitford Lake where no lawman ever thought of looking.[90]

When they could not find a bloc settler's distilling apparatus, the police could still make an arrest if they caught a moonshiner in possession of home-brew or mash. Yet, even in this situation, there was no guarantee that they could successfully prosecute the lawbreaker. Even Ukrainian farmers who were caught red-handed with a tub of mash or jug of home-brew could take measures to protect themselves. If the moonshiners could prevent the police from obtaining samples of these mixtures, they could prevent charges from being laid; policemen needed to get a sample of at least ten ounces of either liquid to obtain a conviction. In a raid, the simplest defence for the possessor of home-brew or mash was to pour out the stuff. Countless raids proved futile because moonshiners had time to spill evidence upon the ground.[91] The bloc settlers also used other methods to thwart the police. When Corporal Sacker of the Vegreville detachment raided one Galician farmhouse, the occupant camouflaged her mash by pouring it into a wash tub containing dirty linen.[92] Another Ukrainian woman successfully avoided prosecution by removing her clothes and jumping naked into a mash barrel.[93]

Three tell-tale signs which alerted the bloc police to moonshining operations were the sour smell of fermenting mash, the smoke given off by the fire underneath the still's boiler, and the purchase of large quantities of sugar. Most Ukrainian home-brewers took steps to mask these indicators. For example, they often placed mash barrels near a pig-pen to so that the odour of fermentation would be lost in the stench of swine. One common means of camouflaging the smoke of a distilling operation was to make home-brew during the times when farmers burned their brush piles. Thus, the smoke produced by a pot still did not appear suspicious. Similarly, the smart operator left his purchase of sugar to the late-summer and autumn when canning was in full swing--when the purchase of large quantities of sugar did not appear so unusual.

Of course, a moonshiner did not need to keep his still in operation on a year-round basis. The part-time distiller proved more difficult to catch than the full-time operator. Many settlers made vodka only for a few days each year. Some just prepared it for a single event (for the celebration of a wedding or holiday, for instance). During intervals between distillations, a moonshiner often cached his mash barrels out in the bush as a safeguard against discovery. If he was very cautious, he might even take the trouble of burying the vessels and covering them with boards, soil, sod, twigs, leaves, or snow.

Ukrainian distillers took similar precautions to hide the liquor produced by stills. Typically, they secreted a store of home-brew in a stand of poplars or buried it in a field. Many hid bottles of home-brew under wheat or oats in granaries. The Slavic settlers found that one of the safest places to conceal containers of moonshine was in a manure pile inside or outside of a barn. Smaller quantities of illicit spirits could be stashed in other places--up in attics, down in root cellars or coal bins, under floorboards, or inside the water reservoirs of stoves.

Some bloc settlers went into moonshining partnerships with their hired labourers to protect themselves from fines and jail sentences. For example, Iakiw Slemko, a farmer in the Smoky Lake district, had his farm hand, Alex Strogan, make spirits for him in the early 1920's.[94] This type of arrangement reduced the farmer's chances of arrest or imprisonment. Typically, the farm boss provided his hired hand with surplus grain in return for a cut of the liquor produced or profits generated. The hand operated the still and took all of the risks. If the police found the outfit, the hired man was to take full responsibility for it and face prosecution alone. While some moonshining farmers helped to pay the fines imposed on their labouring partners, others just let them go to prison. Occasionally, a hired man would quit a district after his still had been discovered but before he could be arrested. Unlike his employer/partner, the hand usually had nothing to encumber a quick get-away; he owned no property, had few possessions, and lacked family obligations.

In the bloc, moonshining partnerships also existed between neighbouring Ukrainian farmers. In these fraternities, each settler provided ingredients for mash and helped to make liquor. In return, he received his fair share of the home-brew or its cash value. If the police arrested and convicted one of the partners, the others were expected to share the burden of his fine. The prosecution of one circle of bootleggers in the Ukrainian colony illustrates the last point. When a still was uncovered in the Sunland district of east central Alberta, the police arrested two Ukrainian men named Humeny and Ambrosie. At the conclusion of their ensuing trial at Willingdon, the two moonshiners received a large fine. When their partners (the brothers George and Metro Daniluk) "refused to help them in paying the fine and laughed at them," the convicted offenders reported them to the police. As a result, the police successfully prosecuted a case against one Daniluk; he received the penalty of a month in prison and a $200 fine. The other brother had to flee the district to avoid the same fate.[95] Apparently, the Ukrainian-Canadian taboo against informing on moonshiners did not apply to fickle partners.

Dances at rural halls provided opportunities for moonshiners to make a few easy dollars in a single night's work. Because police officers sometimes attended these events, bootleggers took precautions to avoid arrest. One proven method of thwarting the local detachment man was to hide bottles of home-brew near the community hall a few days before an upcoming event. Moonshiners buried them next to identifiable landmarks--particular fence-posts, telegraph poles, bushes, fieldstones, or the like. On the night of the dance, thirsty revellers approached the bootlegger to buy bottles of his homemade vodka. In exchange for cash, he informed each one about the location of a certain container. This method prevented a policeman from arresting the bootlegger for the sale of illicit liquor because he never witnessed the suspect directly passing liquor to a customer. Consequently, the most that a lawman could do was to arrest the moonshiner's clients for possession and consumption of illicit liquor under the provincial Liquor Control Act; this would land each buyer only a small fine of a few dollars.

The most effective defense of the moonshiner was the threat of violence. Detachment constables knew that some Ukrainian moonshiners would defend their stills with guns. During the 1915-1929 era, several detachment constables were fired upon during liquor raids. In 1927, for instance, a Ukrainian moonshiner in the Spedden district, Hnat Mikitka, shot Constable Bill Buchanan during a police incursion on his secret distillery. Mikitka wounded Buchanan in the shoulder and faced the charge of attempted murder.[96] Incidents such as this made some constables avoid liquor investigations altogether. Many believed that it was foolish to risk taking a bullet over a tub of mash or cache of home-brew.

Moonshiners also used violence to intimidate police agents, justices of the peace, witnesses and informants. While a policemen might recruit a young man in the community as a special constable for most investigations or arrests, such engagements proved virtually impossible for operations against moonshiners. For instance, Andrew resident Alex Skoreiko, who often accompanied Bill Reay when the constable had to make an arrest or investigate a crime, refused to accompany Reay when the policeman was working on a liquor case. The young Ukrainian man feared retaliation by local bootleggers. Skoreiko's father, the town blacksmith in Andrew, prudently warned his son "not to get involved" in liquor investigations.[97] Justices of the peace, already reluctant to handle Inland Revenue cases because of the negative impact that these cases had on their business interests, also feared retaliation from moonshiners. APP veteran Ted Buchanan remarked, "The thing was that if they did hear the case of a moonshiner...their places could be blown up or damaged or set fire to."[98] These threats were enough to dissuade most JPs from presiding at the trials of liquor offenders. Intimidation similarly prevented a moonshiner's acquaintances from informing on him or acting as witnesses for the Crown at his trial.

* * * * * * *

The campaign waged by detachment policemen against moonshiners in the Ukrainian colony during the 1915-1929 era could be described as a "phoney war." Alberta's police establishment and the constabulary of the bloc had no real stomach for the fight. Yet, during this period, the provincial government felt pressured to demonstrate its dedication to liquor-control legislation through displays of vigilant enforcement by its agents. With the co-operation of federal authorities, the Alberta Attorney General's Department periodically sent investigators from Edmonton to assist detachment policemen with enforcing the Inland Revenue Act and the Alberta Liquor Control Act. In the Ukrainian colony, these investigators received only half-hearted assistance from detachment men. The bloc lawmen found that the functionaries effected more harm than good.

The government deployed four different groups of Edmonton-based liquor investigators in the Ukrainian settlement during the 1915-1929 era: the APP liquor squad, the Alberta Liquor Control Board Enforcement Branch, Inland Revenue officers of the federal Excise Department, and members of the post-1917 RNWMP/RCMP. None of these groups proved to be popular with detachment constables in the Ukrainian colony. Technically, the investigators of the APP and ALCB were only responsible for enforcing the Alberta Liquor Control Act--that is, for uncovering evidence of the possession and/or consumption of illicit liquor. As the unlicensed distillation of spirits violated federal law, excise officers and the mounted police were to search for moonshine mash and stills.

The Alberta Attorney General compelled bloc policemen to accompany these investigators on their liquor raids. By doing so, he effectively placed the detachment men in the role of subordinates, under the direction of the Edmonton-based officers. The bloc policemen resented this. The majority of detachment constables who served in the Ukrainian colony had solid backgrounds in rural law enforcement and took exception to being led across the countryside by comparatively inexperienced operatives. The detachment men usually found accompanying the Edmontonians an incredible waste of time as the city-based functionaries did not know what they were doing. Of the members of the liquor squads, one APP veteran remarked, "They didn't even know what a still looked like."[99]

As far as the bloc policemen were concerned, the liquor investigators from the city were woefully unprepared for enforcement work in any rural district, let alone for operations in the Ukrainian colony. The Edmonton men stumbled into communities, alerting the residents to their presence and, consequently, failed to make any real headway against bloc moonshiners. Although the members of the liquor squads dressed in plain clothes to conceal their identities, this availed them little. Any Anglo-Saxon stranger who suddenly showed up in a Ukrainian community asking questions about bootleg vodka was immediately seen for what he was.

When circumstances prevented the detachment man from accompanying the liquor investigators, the plainclothesmen demonstrated a complete ignorance of the folkways of the Ukrainian settlers. For example, in the Wostok district during the first week of January 1921, one RCMP liquor squad--in a frenzy of what might be described as "mash hysteria"--seized a great number of containers from a large number of Ukrainian settlers. The mounties believed that these containers were filled with moonshine mash. What the federal policemen had actually seized, however, were potfuls of "kutia" (the traditional, non-alcoholic, Christmas dish of the Ukrainians--made of boiled wheat, poppy seeds and honey).[100] At other times, liquor squads similarly mistook everything from sauerkraut to pig-feed for mash.[101] This incompetence antagonized the bloc settlers, particularly when some of them were wrongly convicted of moonshining due to the ignorance of Anglo-Canadian officials. In such cases, unfortunately, the Ukrainians transferred some of their resentment of the moonshine squads towards the local detachment constable. For their part, the Edmonton-based investigators had no ties to the Ukrainian community and gave little thought to the repercussions their actions had for the detachment man. After a series of raids, they returned carefree to their quarters in the city.

At times, accompanying the liquor squads placed the detachment constable in life-threatening situations. The policeman found that, as he had to wear his uniform while the Edmonton men went in plain clothes, he became the most likely target for a bullet during a raid on a still. In the heat of the moment, a cornered and panicked moonshiner tended to shoot at the uniformed man first. This is what happened to Bill Buchanan on a liquor raid with the ALCB Enforcement Branch in 1927. A Ukrainian moonshiner first fired on Buchanan--the only one of a group of four men who was wearing a khaki tunic, a Sam-Browne belt, striped breeches, a stetson hat, and police boots.[102] Ted Buchanan commented that the members of liquor squads liked to have a regular constable along on a raid, just so he could absorb a sniper's deadly first bullet if a gun battle broke out.[103]

What the detachment man disliked most of all about the liquor squads was their effect of souring relations between neighbours and heightening violent tensions in rural communities. These problems stemmed from the investigators' reliance on paid informers. The authorities offered a "moiety" of the fine assessed to a convicted moonshiner to citizens who provided information leading to his successful prosecution; that is, a stool pigeon would receive half of the amount that a convicted liquor offender had to pay to the court (usually a moiety of one hundred dollars from a fine of two hundred dollars). To the poor Ukrainian farmers, turning informer presented a very great temptation. A strong taboo in the bloc, however, countered the allurement of secretly reporting one's neighbours to the authorities. The Slavic settlers especially despised those who informed on another person for profit and without concern for the suffering inflicted on the person's family.

In theory, an informer's identity would never be discovered, as he would not be required to appear in court and would receive his moiety in absolute secrecy. Covertness was absolutely necessary; because if the kinsmen and friends of a convicted moonshiner discovered (or even suspected) that someone had informed on the offender, they would usually seek revenge. For example, in the Vegreville district in the spring of 1925, a Ukrainian-Canadian youth assaulted the son of an employee of the Alberta Liquor Control Board who was suspected of "giving his father information regarding the illicit whisky in the district."[104] Alex Skoreiko noted that Ukrainian settlers in the Andrew district would beat up those suspected of being stool pigeons.[105] In the Smoky Lake district, when one Ukrainian woman threatened to report her husband to the police for making moonshine (after he had already served two terms in the Fort Saskatchewan Gaol for violations of the Inland Revenue Act), he vented his displeasure by tying her hands behind her back, giving her a thrashing, and locking her in the henhouse.[106]

The secret payment of informers led to serious abuses of justice. Some settlers took to planting moonshine mash or stills on the farms of innocent people. They would then contact the police who would raid the property and find the necessary evidence. In the end, the dastardly informer received a hefty moiety of the fine imposed on his blameless victim. Similarly, when a moonshiner believed that another person had betrayed him to the police, one of the simplest ways of exacting his revenge was to plant a still or some mash on the premises of the suspected stool pigeon. The avenger could then tip off the local policeman or the Inland Revenue office and delight in the arrest and conviction of his Judas.

In 1922, espionage related to moonshine moieties made a shambles of the justice system in the Radway district. In that year, JP John Pryjma informed the police that fellow Radway resident, D. Hruschak, was selling home-brew. The police raided Hruschak's premises and discovered a store of mash and illicit liquor. In the subsequent trial, the court found Hruschak guilty of moonshining and imposed a fine of $800. This entitled Pryjma to a substantial moiety of $400.[107] For reasons which defy understanding, Pryjma publicly revealed his identity as the police informant in the Hruschak case and even chose to go to Fort Saskatchewan to give evidence at Hruschak's trial. Some Ukrainians at Andrew speculated that Pryjma had planted moonshine at Hruschak's place in order to collect half of fine imposed on the hapless settler. Their suspicion seemed to be given credence when, shortly after the court case, the Attorney General's Department received a letter from a Radway storekeeper, Harry Lopatynsky, who claimed that Pryjma threatened to frame him for bootlegging. The following is an excerpt from Lopatynsky's letter:

> On the 17th day of this month, Mr. John Pryjma, J.P. of this town attacked me at the C.N.R. Station, with the use of bad language, and threatened to have me fixed in the same way as he had fixed D. Hruschak of this town, namely, that he will "pinch" me which he said will cost me $800 just as it cost D. Hruschak, for selling whisky.
>
> Now I am an honest citizen and do no whisky business and I wish some protection from your government against the said John Pryjma, J.P..
>
> It is fact that it's only a few days ago since he got the above named D. Hruschak into the courts of law for selling booze, but I do not understand how he is going to "fix me" unless he will put some booze into my fruit store without me knowing it, and then get detectives to find it, and have me thus pulled.[108]

The Attorney General assigned plainclothes officers to investigate Lopatynsky's allegations and, at one point, considered asking for Pryjma's resignation as justice of the peace. Before he could take such action, however, the police found stores of mash and illicit liquor on the property of several other residents of Radway--including the farm of John Pryjma. In fact, the police searched Pryjma's home on two separate occasions--both times finding damning evidence of moonshining and bootlegging. The JP claimed that he was being framed by a ring of local moonshiners in retaliation for his work as a police informant. The authorities were sure that there was a war going on in Radway between moonshiners and their enemies, but found it impossible to determine who belonged to which side in the conflict. The courts faced the dizzying and destructive prospect of assessing thousands of dollars of fines to Radway residents and dividing moieties among two opposing camps of bitter disputants. In the end, the police had no choice but to drop all of the charges and attribute the whole affair to factionalism in the Ukrainian community. One observer noted that the episode was typical of "settlements of Central Europeans" where there were "different factions" which were "often at 'outs' with one another."[109] In the aftermath, Pryjma retained the office of JP, but his reputation had been sullied. Moreover, the war on the moonshiners (particularly the use of informers and moieties) had heightened tensions in the Ukrainian community and given a black eye to the British-Canadian system of justice.

Ultimately, the Anglo-Saxon detachment constables wished that the government had never attempted to impose prohibition and liquor-control legislation on the settlers of the

Ukrainian colony. In the bloc during the 1915-1929 era, the laws against drinking, moonshining and bootlegging were, as one policeman put it, "more honoured in the breach than in the observance." Thus, it proved impossible to punish the great number of liquor offenders in the colony and counter-productive to attempt to do so.

In the end, the moonshine industry displayed a longevity in the Ukrainian colony that was unmatched in other Albertan regions. While the conclusion of the Prohibition era spelled the demise of widespread moonshining and bootlegging in other regions of Alberta, it scarcely put a dent into the illicit liquor industry in east central Alberta.[110] In other Albertan communities, homemade alcohol was distilled as a business enterprise during prohibition. In these communities, once liquor was again available for sale in stores and at hotel barrooms, the bottom dropped out of the home-brew market. In the Ukrainian colony, however, profit had never been the primary motive of the Ukrainian moonshiner. The production and consumption of home-distilled vodka was an expression of early Ukrainian-Canadian culture. This explains why the Ukrainian settler made home-brew before 1916 and why he continued to produce it after 1924. Significantly, the police establishment retained a special moonshine squad for work in the Ukrainian colony until the outbreak of World War II--many years after the disbanding of similar units in other parts of the province.

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Detachment men had one final reason for overlooking infractions of the liquor laws in the Ukrainian colony: this approach left them with greater time to deal with more serious offenses. Ultimately, violent crimes and property crimes were the detachment constable's primary concerns. If these offenses could be kept to an absolute minimum, all of the unpleasant aspects of police work (danger, travel, care of prisoners, escort duty, trial duty, paperwork, and interference from police headquarters) could be greatly reduced.

The bloc policemen's departure from by-the-book enforcement in liquor cases should not necessarily be perceived as corrupt or irresponsible. Most experienced lawmen in the Ukrainian colony proved to be astute in determining the most straightforward means of preserving general order in the region. They came down hard on those who committed severe breaches of the peace. Each bloc policeman had a "bottom line" when it came to law enforcement in his area of jurisdiction. He could not afford to overlook direct challenges to his authority. He cracked down on serious outbreaks of violence--murder, manslaughter, rape, aggravated assault, and riotous conduct. He showed little tolerance for major crimes against property--armed robbery, robbery, and thefts of items valued at more than a few dollars. While the detachment man might tolerate the activities of low-profile moonshiners, he had no mercy on those who flaunted their lawlessness, peddled unsafe hooch or became violent. Because he was responsible for policing a large patrol area and thousands of settlers, the bloc lawman usually had time only for the investigation of serious crimes.

The police closely monitored the activities of itinerant male labourers in the Ukrainian colony because this class proved most likely to commit crimes. After the harvest and threshing seasons ended, the detachment constables ensured that the temporary labourers who had been let go by farmers would not remain long in townsites, drinking at hotels or gambling in billiard halls. The bloc lawman realized that congregations of young men with free time and new dollars would inevitably lead to drunkenness, gambling, and fighting (and, potentially, to theft, vandalism, or serious violence). Consequently, he ordered all idle young men to immediately leave his patrol district and arrested those who refused to obey on charges of vagrancy.[111] Convicted vagrants would be fined and forced to leave the district or sent to the provincial gaol at Fort Saskatchewan.

The methods used by detachment constables in the Ukrainian settlement were often harsh, sometimes unlawful. The policemen were not above using intimidation (including threats of violence) to solve crimes or to demonstrate their power and authority. For example, in the Spedden district during the fall of 1927, a squad of APP men repeatedly discharged revolvers and rifles in the farmyard of one Ukrainian baba in the hope of frightening the old woman into revealing her fugitive son's whereabouts; when this strategy failed, the officers allegedly informed her that they would shoot her son on sight when they located him, unless she immediately divulged his whereabouts.[112] In suppressing violence, the police often used simple brute force. For instance, when a gigantic Ukrainian brawl broke out in the streets of Vilna in the early 1920's, APP Constables Bill and Ted Buchanar broke up the riot by wading into the mob swinging pickaxe handles.[113] To discourage fighting at dances in the Andrew district, Constable Bill Reay beat the tar out of young ruffians he caught bullying people at these events.[114] Surprisingly, the Ukrainian immigrants did not offer serious complaints about some of the extreme methods used by detachment policemen. The bloc settlers endured and understood (and sometimes even respected) the tough approach taken by most lawmen. The constables of east central Alberta made the bottom line in their enforcement of the law very clear and the bulk of Ukrainian colonists respected the set limits. All things considered, the justice meted out in the bloc was of the frontier variety, but well-suited to the social climate of the region during the 1915-1929 period.

* * * * * * *

One of the most straightforward means of enforcing the law more effectively in the bloc settlement was to incorporate Ukrainian Canadians into the ranks of the justice system. This strategy served to reduce the Slavic settlers' distrust of the police and the courts. It helped to increase the number of crimes reported to the police in Ukrainian districts. It also enabled the authorities to solve a greater proportion of criminal cases in the foreign colony.

By 1929, the administration of law and order in the bloc would depend heavily on operatives and officials of Ukrainian descent. In east central Alberta, Ukrainian interpreters assisted police with the gathering of evidence and the interrogation of suspects. They also translated testimonies in court. Ukrainian special constables conducted undercover investigations, joined law enforcement officers on search and seizure raids, and aided in the arresting and escorting of prisoners. Ukrainian justices of the peace presided at preliminary hearings and summary court cases. A Ukrainian detective coordinated the investigations of most indictable offenses in the foreign colony. By 1929, the bloc had its first detachment constable of Ukrainian descent.

The integration of the Slavic settlers into the justice system had humble beginnings. During the 1890's, the only role available to Ukrainian immigrants was that of interpreter. Even then, the government tended to scorn Ukrainian candidates, preferring to engage Ukrainian-speaking German immigrants as police and court interpreters in the Edna-Star colony. The first interpreter for the NWMP in the bloc was a German from Galicia, John Krebs, who had been instrumental in encouraging the first Ukrainians to immigrate to Canada and to settle in east central Alberta.[115] For a time, Krebs resided with Corporal Butler at the Mole Lake detachment (near present-day Wostok). In 1898, NWMP Inspector Primrose of Fort Saskatchewan noted that the services of Krebs were "necessary in order to carry on the work" of the police in an area where "the bulk of the settlement" did not speak English.[116] When Ukrainian offenders were brought before a judge in District Court in Edmonton or Fort Saskatchewan, Joseph Schlamp, another German, acted as court interpreter.[117]

While policemen sometimes hired immigration officers from the Department of the Interior to help them with investigations in the bloc settlement (the Ukrainian-speaking John A. Moore of Edmonton, for example), they preferred to engage full-time agents for work in the Ukrainian colony. In the early 1900's, a Ukrainian-speaking German from Galicia, Special Constable Becker, assisted the constables who worked among the Galicians and Bukovinians. Becker was stationed at Fort Saskatchewan where, when he was not working as an interpreter in court or in the field, he served as "G" Division's tailor.[118] Prior to 1917, the RNWMP also experimented with Ukrainian-speaking constables at the Andrew detachment in the heart of the bloc settlement: Constable J.A. Schreyer and Constable Shultz. This move was, apparently, an effort to reduce the need for interpreters in the bloc and the fees paid to them. Schreyer and Shultz were German emigrants from

Ukrainian lands in the Russian Empire.[119]

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, Ukrainians began to get the lion's share of interpreter positions in the bloc. Anglo-Canadian politicians doled out these modestly-paying offices to Ukrainian party workers as a form of political patronage. The government party usually awarded the positions to individuals who had served as interpreters for its candidates during its successful election campaign. Detachment constables in the Ukrainian colony were instructed to use these officially-sanctioned interpreters for both police and court work.

While most bloc interpreters of Ukrainian descent were males (Anton Kuprowski, Mike Dutka, P. Fedirchuk, George Osadchie or Nick Sawchuk for example), some were women. For instance, Mary (Moisey) Stewart, the Ukrainian wife of JP Robert Stewart, served as the government interpreter for the Andrew district from 1902 to 1910.[120] Many of the Slavic appointees had learned English by working for British Canadians as domestic servants or hired hands. Others became fluent in the Anglo-Saxon tongue through employment outside of the Ukrainian colony--in mines, work camps and cities.

As detachment man Bill Reay noted, the police had to employ Ukrainian interpreters in the early-twentieth-century bloc--"to develop the trust of the public."[121] It also proved advantageous to use Ukrainian interpreters in the colony for two other reasons. Firstly, Galician and Bukovinian settlers felt more at ease with them. As a result, Ukrainian interpreters obtained more information for bloc policemen than non-Ukrainian agents could procure. Secondly, Ukrainian interpreters provided lawmen with invaluable insights and advice. The Slavic agents made superior intermediaries for British-Canadian officials in east central Alberta, because they were familiar with the folkways and world view of their fellow immigrants.

Although Ukrainian interpreters made the bloc settlers more comfortable with Alberta's justice system, they disturbed other Albertans. Many of the first Ukrainian interpreters were controversial figures. Throughout the 1892-1929 era, Anglo-Canadians regularly levelled charges of dishonesty and corruption against them. The reputation of the Slavic agents began to be sullied in the 1890's, when Superintendent Deane of the NWMP alleged that "Slavonian interpreters" were manipulating court cases by collaborating with perjurers and distorting testimonies.[122] Accusations such as this became more widespread in the decades that followed. In 1908, an editorial in the Vegreville Observer decried the crookedness of "Ruthenian interpreters," charging that they were "the devoted slaves of the highest bidder."[123] Another article in the Vegreville newspaper attested to the dishonesty of the Ukrainian by stating that his word wasn't "good for much" and that "the eighth commandment" had "a very slender hold on him."[124] Such allegations sometimes proved to be true. In

1902, for instance, in the famous lawsuit over the Ukrainian church at Star, Alberta, court interpreter Eugene Androchowicz confessed that he had accepted a bribe from the Greek Catholic faction in the dispute and was dismissed from the case.[125] Sociologist Charles Young attributed such behaviour to the Ukrainians' "acquired propensity for lying and falsehood."[126] Young claimed that this had a "political rather than an ethical significance," as "lying was about the only means of defense they had as a subject people in the homeland."

By the end of the Great War, the falsification of testimonies by Ukrainian interpreters had evidently become infrequent. Veteran bloc policeman Ted Buchanan commented that, by this time, many bloc settlers had learned some English and would speak up in court if they found that the Ukrainian words of witnesses were being inaccurately translated.[127] The integrity of some interpreters, however, continued to be challenged. In 1920, JP George Woolley complained about the extreme difficulty of finding an interpreter in the Andrew district who could be "depended upon."[128] In 1922, when the Attorney General's Department sent an investigator to Smoky Lake to look into complaints about APP Constable Bill Buchanan, the investigator engaged a local interpreter who allegedly distorted Ukrainian settlers' sworn statements in the attempt to get Buchanan fired.[129] In the late 1920's, an APP detective asserted that some Ukrainian interpreters in east central Alberta continued to participate in "frame-ups" by incorrectly translating testimonies.[130]

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After securing positions as interpreters, some Ukrainians were able to win appointments as justices of the peace. The Alberta government selected Alberta's first JP of Ukrainian descent in 1913. The chosen one was Gregory Moisey, a farmer in the Andrew district.[131] During the following eight years, the Attorney General awarded the office of JP to several other Ukrainian settlers. As a rule, the A.G. appointed Ukrainian justices of the peace only in the most homogeneously Ukrainian districts of east central Alberta. In 1921, only seven of fifty-one justices in the bloc were of Ukrainian descent.[132] By the end of the decade, the number of Ukrainian JPs had risen slightly. They included: E.H. Kowalchuk (Andrew), Paul Andruik (Andrew/Sunland), William Hawreliak (Wasel/Whitford), Jacob Hawreliak (Smoky Lake/Whitford), Alex Shandro (Shandro/ Whitford), Stephen J. Leskiw (Ashmont/Beaver River/Bellis/Vilna), John Ropcean (Bellis), Metro J. Cebuliak (Smoky Lake), Nick Gavinchuk (Smoky Lake), Kosma Chernochan (Smoky Lake), John Stogrin (Smoky Lake/Whitford), Bill Starchuk (Smoky Lake), John Letawsky (Lamont), and John Pryjma (Radway Centre).

Like their Anglo-Canadian counterparts, the Ukrainian-Canadian JPs of east central Alberta were farmers or businessmen. Gregory Moisey--after working as a railway navvy, interpreter and school teacher--bought a farm near Andrew where he raised and traded horses.[133] John Stogrin, who learned English while toiling on the CPR near Calgary, worked as a farmer and postmaster at Smoky Lake.[134] Metro Cebuliak, a one-time section foreman on the CNR, farmed and served as the secretary-treasurer of the Toporoutz School District.[135] Nick Gavinchuk managed a Ukrainian Cooperative Store and later a photographic studio. He also served as secretary-treasurer of a number of local school boards and as a councillor of the Smoky Lake Municipal District.[136] John Letawsky had a store in Lamont.[137] Kosma Chernochan worked a farmstead, owned a share of a UFA General Store, and functioned as secretary-treasurer of the Smoky Lake Municipality.[138]

The appointment of Ukrainian justices of the peace during the second and third decades of the twentieth century reflected the growing power of Ukrainians in east central Albertan politics. Local workers of the victorious party in a provincial election were awarded with a variety of patronage positions--ranging from jobs as weed inspectors to appointments as commissioners of oaths. The office of JP was one of these patronage prizes. In the pre-Depression era, it was a prestigious office in a rural district--one especially coveted by the status-starved Ukrainian immigrants. Only the more well-to-do settlers, men with the right political connections, and those with some all-important competency in the English language could hope to occupy the position.

English-language fluency, of course, was the key to advancement for the prospective Slavic official. The Ukrainian immigrants who first mastered the tongue naturally became important middlemen in east central Alberta. Both Ukrainian settlers and British Canadians regarded them as leaders and sought their advice--the Slavs about how to function in Anglo-Saxon society and the Britishers about how to do business in the bloc. Thus, bilingualism became a source of political power and economic benefit for the ambitious immigrant from Galicia or Bukovina. The first Ukrainian-Canadian businessmen in the foreign colony came from a relatively small pool of competent English speakers. These same men became the first intermediaries for Anglo-Canadian politicians and government officials. Eventually, they emerged as the first Ukrainian-Canadian civil servants and politicians.

Political connections and language proficiency, not wisdom or merit, figured most prominently in the appointment of many of the first Ukrainian-Canadian justices of the peace. This fact would become evident in the way the appointees discharged their official responsibilities. The Ukrainian pioneer JPs, like the first Ukrainian interpreters, frequently became embroiled in controversies and scandals. For example, JP Metro Cebuliak, who doubled as the secretary of the Municipal District of Smoky Lake, was convicted of converting several thousand dollars of municipal funds to his own use and served one year at Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol in 1923-1924.[139] The Attorney General's Department cancelled the commission of Smoky Lake justice of the peace John Stogrin who was charged with crimes including fraud, forgery and extortion of sexual favours.[140] JP William Hawreliak participated in the election chicaneries of his kinsman Andrew Shandro (the first Ukrainian-Canadian MLA). Hawreliak's unscrupulous practices included wrongfully issuing a warrant for the arrest of Shandro's opponent during the height of the 1913 election campaign (as a means of discrediting the candidate) and rejecting the nomination papers of another opponent during the 1921 campaign (so that Shandro could win the election by acclamation). Hawreliak had to appear in court on two occasions and was implicated on various counts of slander and electoral corruption--the result being that Alberta judges twice unseated Shandro after election victories.[141] Another Ukrainian JP in the bloc profited from his corrupt enforcement of the liquor laws. APP veteran Ted Buchanan described this situation as follows:

> I found out that this farmer-JP knew where the stills were. And he would go out and seize a still and fine the moonshiner a hundred dollars for having a still. And he would sell the still to a friend of his. He kept the fine and never made any reports at all to Edmonton [to the Attorney General's Department].[142]

As has already been mentioned, the police charged John

Pryjma, the Ukrainian justice of the peace at Radway, with moonshining and bootlegging. In 1925, the police arrested JP Gregory Moisey for forging a receipt for the Andrew school district. In the subsequent trial, Judge Taylor of the Vegreville District Court acquitted Moisey of the charge due to insufficient evidence, although "he believed the accused guilty."[143]

To the Ukrainian settlers, the scandalous behaviour of many of the first Ukrainian JPs did not come as a great surprise. They expected that all those who sought public office did so for personal gain, not for the public welfare. In 1916, a Galician pioneer from the Lamont district made the following comment about Ukrainian leaders in the bloc: "All those who pretend to be leaders only try to fill their pockets and always quarrel with one another."[144] Another contemporary remarked that the Ukrainian-Canadian official was the type of fellow "who would accept leadership and being human-...would get everything he could out of it and go after more."[145] In the end, the complaints lodged by Ukrainian settlers against Ukrainian justices of the peace corresponded closely with those made against British-Canadian judicial officials.

One of the most common criticisms levelled against the Slavic JPs was that they stirred up trouble in the local community in order to provoke more court cases and, as a result, garner more court fees for themselves. In 1923, for instance, Ivan Kit of Mundare wrote the Alberta Attorney General to complain that JP John Pryjma did "not make settlements amongst the people" but, instead, tried "to bring trouble between the people so that they would lay complaints against each other and he would make a profit out of it."[146] The Ukrainian pioneers' view of the bloc's first Ukrainian officials is perhaps best summed up by one of the characters in Illia Kiriak's Ukrainian-Canadian novel Syny zemli (Sons of the Soil) who remarks, "A government official is worse than a lord. Once a man gets a government job, he loses all his human qualities. That's the way it was in the Old Country. Just let him get his snout into the government trough and he soon becomes as big [a pig] as the rest of them."[147]

One can argue that the misuse of authority by the Ukrainian-Canadian JP was simply a perpetuation of the unscrupulous conduct of the old-country official. After all, the abuse of power by Ukrainian village authorities had been a chronic problem in Galicia and Bukovina. The old-country equivalent of the Canadian justice of the peace was the village mayor ("viyt") who exercised quasi-judicial authority over minor criminal cases in the peasant commune. Many mayors proved to be notoriously corrupt arbiters and could be bribed with as little as a bottle of vodka or a link of sausage.[148] One scholar noted that the late-nineteenth-century Ukrainian peasant "had nothing but contempt" for

Ukrainian village officials and accused them "above all of bribery and dishonesty."[149] Some of the pioneer JPs in the Ukrainian colony (Alex Shandro, for example) were the sons or grandsons of village mayors and seem to have inherited the habits and attitudes of their forebears.

Early-twentieth-century Anglo-Canadian observers blamed the improprieties of the Ukrainian JP on his Old World background. For instance, George Reaman argued that, because the Slavic immigrant had not experienced freedom and democracy in his mother country, he was ill-prepared for wielding power and authority in his adopted country:

> It is necessary to know what the foreigner does not possess. Anyone who comes to this country may become self-determined but in many cases what is lacking is poise. Those of us who have had to do with the foreigner when he has been made even a school trustee know how he tends to lose himself in his perspective. He is not to be blamed for this but the situation is to be explained. He comes from a society which has never known democracy and he comes out here where the lid is literally off and he doesn't know what to do with power and authority. Poise, therefore, is the concrete ideal which we must give the foreigner.[150]

Whether or not a lack of "poise" constituted the main cause of their capriciousness, it appears that the Ukrainian JPs did not significantly improve the quality of justice meted out by the local courts in east central Alberta.

Instead of seeking an old-country origin for the abuses of the Ukrainian-Canadian justice of the peace, however, one could argue that he merely followed the example set by his Anglo-Canadian confreres. All things considered, the conduct of the Slavic JP and his Anglo-Saxon counterpart closely corresponded. As Charles Young observed, both were small men with an exaggerated sense of their own importance--ignorant, untrained in the law, and not beyond tinkering with the ends of justice. Both displayed a tendency to fill their pockets at the expense of the citizenry and showed little regard for the rules of evidence or technicalities of procedure. In the bloc, Anglo-Canadian and Ukrainian-Canadian JPs differed only in the responses they received from the community and in the treatment they got from the Attorney General's Department.

Not surprisingly, the Anglo-Saxon minority in the bloc settlement strongly disapproved of the appointment of the first officials of Ukrainian descent. In 1908, in response to the engagement of a Ukrainian as a provincial weed inspector, a correspondent of the Vegreville Observer complained that "investing a Russian yokel with authority to dictate in the government's name to English-speaking British subjects...was going too far." The correspondent added that he resented the appointment as a "humiliation" and considered it unlikely that "white men of the province would stand for it."[151] Needless to say, if Britishers took offense at a Slav inspecting their vegetation, they took even greater exception to one sitting in judgement over them in a court of law.

Throughout the 1913-1929 era, the prevailing attitude among Anglo-Canadians in the bloc was that Ukrainians were not fit to hold the office of justice of the peace. Some of the initial attempts to award Ukrainians with the office were successfully blocked by the objections of Anglo-Canadians--among others, the recommended appointments of John Huculak of Bellis and William Diduck of Hilliard.[152]

In the end, however, the power of the Ukrainian vote forced the Alberta government to placate the Slavs with a limited number of JP appointments. To avoid raising the ire of the Anglo-Canadian citizenry to an inordinate degree, Ukrainian officials were chosen only in areas of the bloc where Ukrainians made up a very high percentage of the population. Even in these districts, the government was careful to provide Anglo-Saxons with one or two alternative JPs of British stock. In the bloc interior, detachment constables attempted to minimize tensions in the community by assigning an Anglo-Saxon JP to court cases involving British-Canadian plaintiffs or defendants. Similarly, constables would call upon a Ukrainian-Canadian to preside at cases featuring Ukrainian complainants and Ukrainian accused parties. When a policeman deviated from this strategy, the bloc justice system began to break down.

For example, when a detachment man began to make exclusive use of Ukrainian JPs at court cases in the Willingdon district, the local Anglo-Canadian minority demanded the removal of both the constable and the Slavic JPs.[153] APP Commissioner W.C. Bryan explained this situation as follows: "Some of the English-speaking people of the district...resent having cases dealt with at Willingdon by Ukrainian Justices of the Peace."[154] In an ironic reversal of the longstanding complaints of the Ukrainian settlers, the Britishers alleged that Slavic officials discriminated against them in the local courts. In response, the Attorney General's Department suspended the judicial powers of the Ukrainian JPs and replaced them with a British-Canadian travelling police magistrate. Although Willingdon's detachment constable informed the APP Commissioner and the Attorney General that the Ukrainian officials were "very loath to waive jurisdiction," they had their powers stripped nonetheless.[155]

Although the bloc settlers may have disliked the attitudes and actions of many Ukrainian justices of the peace, the Slavic JPs did make a powerful impact on the settlers' attitudes towards the British-Canadian justice system. In the Andrew district, for instance, the appointment of Gregory Moisey led to a significant increase in the number of crimes reported to the police by Ukrainians and in the number of cases tried. When the government removed Moisey from the office of JP, there was a corresponding drop in the number of reported crimes and court cases at Andrew.[156] Clearly, the Slavs felt more comfortable seeking justice from one of their own.

The employment of Ukrainian officials in the ranks of the justice system was an important step in the adjustment process of the Galician and Bukovinian immigrants. It showed them that they could participate in the administration of justice in their new country. In the early 1920's, lawyers who handled cases from the bloc summed up the psychological impact of the Ukrainian JP on the Ukrainian settlers as follows: "This small authority given to one of their own people gives any man of this parentage a local standing which...can be used to greatly improve conditions amongst these people."[157] East central Albertan historian Lillian Semeniuk noted that the appointment of a Ukrainian justice of the peace gave the Ukrainian colonists "someone to relate to" in the justice system.[158] Semeniuk felt that this was an important step in facilitating the bloc settlers' adaptation to British-Canadian law and order. When the Ukrainians saw that one of their countrymen could play a role in the justice system, it eased the suspicions they harboured against the courts. Moreover, seeing a Ukrainian JP working in close co-operation with a detachment constable allayed their fears of the police.

Yet, while most policemen and settlers in east central Alberta appreciated the value of the Ukrainian official, the Attorney General in Edmonton often did not. Throughout the 1913-1929 era, the Alberta government employed a double standard in its handling of the bloc's justices of the peace.

The government declined to suspend Anglo-Saxon JPs like George Woolley of Andrew, no matter how unpopular they became or how seriously they abused their powers. Given the same circumstances, however, it readily cancelled the appointments of Ukrainian-Canadian justices. Moreover, the widespread protests of dozens (or even hundreds) of Ukrainian settlers could not effect the dismissal a British-Canadian justice of the peace, whereas similar complaints offered by only a handful of Anglo-Saxon citizens would cause the removal of any Ukrainian-Canadian official.

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In the second decade of the twentieth century, while the government was appointing Alberta's first Ukrainian justices of the peace, Ukrainians began to emerge as law enforcement officers in east central Alberta. The region's first Ukrainian lawmen were municipal policemen who patrolled the larger townsites of the bloc interior--towns with predominantly Ukrainian populations. Like the position of JP, that of town constable was a patronage appointment. When the bloc settlers elected Ukrainian reeves and councillors in the bloc's municipalities, these electees appointed fellow Ukrainians as municipal constables. Among the first men selected were: Mike Korchynski (Mundare), Nikolai Bahry (Mundare), J. Kobylanski (Mundare), Tom Chahley (Smoky Lake) and George Federuk (Two Hills). On the periphery of the bloc, in townsites such as Fort Saskatchewan and Vegreville (where the Slavs constituted a minority of the population), non-Ukrainians served as town constables. For example, John Chabot served as town constable at Fort Saskatchewan and William Rogers at Vegreville. Most of the smaller townsites in east central Alberta did not employ municipal policemen.

The town constable played a minor role in justice system of the bloc. His responsibilities included the discouragement of theft and vandalism within a townsite, the maintenance of public order, and the enforcement of municipal by-laws. The most challenging part of the job tended to be tossing rowdy drunks into the town jail cell for sobering up overnight. In 1919, the municipal secretary-treasurer of Mundare described the duties of that community's town constable as follows:

> The duties of the police officer were to keep order in general in the village respecting all the by-laws and regulations of the village, to look after all the municipal works in general and act as a night watchman during the winter months, and look after the fire department--at a salary of $60.00 per month during the winter months and $25.00 per month during the summer months.[159]

In other townsites of east central Alberta, the municipal constable performed a number of additional functions. He might serve as bell ringer, pound keeper, fire inspector, license inspector, sanitary inspector, weed inspector, inspector of sidewalks, collector of license fees and dog taxes, operator of the town scales, and/or caretaker of the cemetery. On rare occasion, he assisted the policeman of the local RNWMP or APP detachment with a criminal investigation. In 1921, APP Superintendent W.C. Bryan described typical municipal constables as "not very well versed in their work as policemen." Bryan went on to state, "Most of them are just handy men and have a lot of other work to do outside of what police work they may be called upon to do."[160]

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The "special constable" played a more critical role in the bloc justice system than the municipal policeman. During the 1915-1929 period, the mounties and the APP recruited Ukrainian "specials" for police work in the Ukrainian colony. These officers assisted detachment constables with the enforcement of the criminal code, provincial statutes and federal laws.

Two types of Ukrainian special constables were used in the pre-Depression bloc: temporary agents hired locally by detachment constables and permanent Edmonton-based agents engaged by the police establishment. The former group consisted of untrained citizens who assisted their local detachment man with the arrest, supervision and/or escort of prisoners. Plainclothes officers who were sent into the Ukrainian colony as undercover operatives or as members of liquor squads comprised the latter group.

Detachment men in the Ukrainian colony sometimes hired temporary special constables to assist them with police work that could not be handled by a lone lawman. For the most part, the bloc policeman engaged specials to help with the care and handling of prisoners. When making an arrest or escorting a convict, a detachment constable needed someone to help manage the person held in custody. Alone, he could not drive an automobile or a horse-drawn vehicle while properly supervising the captive. Moreover, the detachment man might require assistance to subdue a powerful or dangerous offender who resisted arrest, became violent, or attempted to escape from custody. Understandably, most of the persons chosen as special constables were sturdy and stout-hearted young men. Alex Skoreiko, the son of the town blacksmith in Andrew, was a typical temporary Ukrainian special. During the 1920's, Skoreiko accompanied APP Constable Bill Reay on dozens of police missions in the bloc.[161]

On occasion, bloc policemen also hired Ukrainian women as temporary special constables. When the detachment man arrested a female suspect, the law required him to engage a female special or "police matron." The police matron would search the prisoner and attend to her needs. If a bloc policeman had to escort a female lawbreaker to Fort Saskatchewan or Edmonton, the matron would accompany him. In east central Alberta, English-speaking Ukrainian women made ideal police matrons for female Ukrainian offenders--particularly when the offenders did not speak fluent English.

The government paid temporary special constables between two and three dollars per day. Because of its bare-bones budget, however, the police establishment frowned upon the use of specials in cases where they were not absolutely necessary. Consequently, detachment men in the bloc were not able to engage them as often as they would have liked. One veteran policeman summed up the situation as follows: "Not unless you were going on something really important could you swear in a [male] special constable."[162] Many detachment men circumvented these restrictions, however, by using Ukrainian men as specials without granting them pay or the official swearing-in ceremony. Of course, such cooperation depended upon a cordial relationship between the lawmen and the volunteers.

During the 1915-1929 era, the APP and the RNWMP/RCMP kept a number of full-time Ukrainian special constables on staff for police work in Alberta. In the bloc, these men assisted detachment constables with the investigation of serious violations of the law. Edmonton-based Ukrainian specials who served in east central Alberta included: Peter Zarowny, Bill Elock, Andrew Elock, H. Shandruk, and George Federuk. These men spoke both Ukrainian and English fluently, could read and write in both languages, and often had mastery of other tongues as well. The APP made more extensive use of Slavic specials in the bloc than did the mounted police force. The RNWMP/RCMP also engaged Ukrainian specials, but generally reserved them for spying on Ukrainian socialists in cities and mining communities. Prior to 1932, the mounties used them sparingly for work in the Ukrainian colony.[163] This was in keeping with the disparate responsibilities of the APP and RNWMP/RCMP during the 1917-1932 era; the former force concentrated on the policing of rural districts, the latter did not.

The Enforcement Branch of the Alberta Liquor Control Board (ALCB) also used Ukrainian plainclothes officers on a moonshine squad it deployed in east central Alberta. The ALCB engaged these officers to enforce sections of the Alberta Liquor Control Act--the sections prohibiting the sale or consumption of home-brew in particular.[164] The Ukrainian plainclothesmen obtained very good results in the bloc and earned reputations as first-rate investigators. In fact, their successes so impressed the APP and the RCMP that both forces recruited Ukrainian ALCB men for regular police work. For instance, Andrew Elock started with the ALCB, then enlisted with the APP as a special constable, and finally joined an RCMP moonshine squad in 1932.[165] George Federuk followed the same path.[166]

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The investigative work of the Ukrainian specials proved so essential to police work in east central Alberta that the APP hierarchy decided to promote one of their number to the rank of detective. Thus, in 1920, Ukrainian-Canadian lawman

Bill Elock went directly from the rank of special constable to detective, bypassing the grades of second-class constable, first-class constable, and corporal.[167] Elock worked primarily in the foreign colony, assisting detachment constables with the investigation of their more serious criminal cases--armed robberies, aggravated assaults, sexual assaults, and homicides. On occasion, he investigated crimes in other rural districts in middle Alberta and reported on the activities of socialist groups in Edmonton's Ukrainian quarter.[168]

Bill Elock was born Vasyl Eliuk in Shypyntsi, Bukovina in 1887.[169] He immigrated to Canada as a young man and spurred two brothers, Andriy (Andrew) and Nikolai (Nick), to do the same. In Canada, he settled in Edmonton, anglicized his Ukrainian surname, and found employment which made use of his gift for languages. He learned to speak English fluently, with little trace of an accent. Besides English and his native Ukrainian, he mastered five other tongues. Between 1910 and 1915, Elock served as an investigator/interpreter with a provincial liquor squad.[170] He then went on to a job with the Alberta Department of Education as a clerk/interpreter. The APP wooed him away from this position in 1919, engaging the Ukrainian immigrant as a special constable. In January 1920, the force promoted him to detective. Elock served as one of "A" Division's two police detectives for the next eight years. During this time, he proved himself to be arguably the most effective lawman to serve in the pre-Depression Ukrainian colony.[171]

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The first and only Ukrainian-Canadian to work as a regular detachment constable in the Ukrainian bloc during the 1892-1929 era was Bill Winnick. Winnick's family had emigrated from the Galician village of Nebyliw in 1899 and homesteaded in the Chipman district of east central Alberta. Winnick joined the RNWMP in 1919 and worked for eight years in southern Saskatchewan.[172] In 1927, he left the mounted police to join the Alberta Provincial Police. Winnick served on detachment at Wainwright before police headquarters transferred him to the APP post at Willingdon.[173] His appointment as Willingdon's detachment constable marked the zenith of Ukrainian influence over criminal justice in east central Alberta. In the Willingdon district, a suspect could be charged with a criminal offence on the complaint of a Ukrainian plaintiff, arrested by a Ukrainian detachment constable, harangued in court by a Ukrainian prosecutor and tried by a Ukrainian JP.

This growing Ukrainian control of local justice, however, did not sit well with the Alberta government or the non-Ukrainian settlers of the bloc. The British-Canadian minority in the Ukrainian colony complained that Ukrainian officials were not qualified to properly dispose of cases involving Anglo-Saxons. Moreover, they alleged that the

Slavic officials discriminated against non-Ukrainians. Although the government could find no evidence to support these claims, it, nonetheless, sympathized with Britishers who felt humiliated at having to submit to the authority of Slavs. When circumstances permitted, the Attorney General moved to curb growing Ukrainian power in the justice system of the bloc.

* * * * * * *

In the pre-Depression era, Ukrainian policemen, like Ukrainian JPs, did not find favour with the Alberta Attorney General's Department or the police establishment. The Attorney General and the APP Commissioner viewed Ukrainian officers as substandard lawmen of inferior racial stock. Slavic applicants for police jobs were hired for work in east central Alberta, not because they were considered comparable in ability to Anglo-Saxon candidates, but because their engagements proved provisionally advantageous and/or essential. Both the Attorney General and the APP Commissioner regarded the Ukrainian policemen as a necessary evil and hoped to replace them with British-Canadian officers as soon as circumstances permitted.

Nevertheless, as the Anglo-Canadian policemen of the bloc came to appreciate during the 1915-1929 era, there were several important benefits of using Ukrainians for police work in east central Alberta. With his intimate understanding of the culture and language of the Ukrainian settlers, the Galician or Bukovinian special constable made a superior intermediary for the detachment man in the Slavic colony. Ukrainians reported more crimes and supplied more information to policemen of their own ethnic background; this led to more successful prosecutions of indictable offenses in the bloc. Ukrainian specials on liquor squads proved to be particularly adept at rooting out illicit stills. Finally, a Ukrainian detective solved crimes in the bloc which could not be solved by investigators of other ethnic origins. Ultimately, the recruitment of Ukrainian policemen made law enforcement in east central Alberta more effective. Unfortunately, the Slavic lawmen, themselves, received little or no recognition from their superiors.

The police establishment employed a double standard in the handling of its policemen. It discriminated in favour of lawmen of Anglo-Saxon descent and against those with other ethnic backgrounds. Slavic custodians of the law received second-class status in both the APP and the mounted police force. When a Ukrainian policeman succeeded, it was against the expectations of the establishment. Alberta Provincial Police Commissioner W.C. Bryan displayed this attitude in the following statement about the performance of APP Constable Bill Winnick: "Winnick, in spite of his Ukrainian origin, has proved himself to be a very efficient policeman...."[174] The police hierarchy retained a Ukrainian lawman only as long as his services proved indispensable, irreproachable and un-troublesome.

The suspension of APP detective Bill Elock is perhaps the best illustration of the double standard used by the establishment in the handling of its officers. In 1927, accusations of corruption, intimidation and perjury were brought against Elock by Ukrainian settlers from the Vegreville district. Although Elock had an exemplary police record, and although he was acquitted of all charges in court, APP Commissioner W.C. Bryan forced him to resign from the provincial police force. In a letter, Bryan summed up his reasons for dismissing the Ukrainian detective:

> Elock is a real good man and was discharged from this force on the 4th April this year [1928]. The reason why he took his discharge was that he had been charged by some foreigners in the Vegreville district with taking money from them. This ended up in three or four perjury cases and Elock was exonerated by the Court, but, as you will readily understand, after this case, it was impossible for me to retain his services for his particular work in the foreign settlements.[175]

While an unsubstantiated accusation could lead to the discharge of a Ukrainian-Canadian lawman like Elock, this did not hold true for his British-Canadian colleagues. Police headquarters did not dismiss Anglo-Saxon policemen who were similarly accused and acquitted.[176] Elock made several pleas for reinstatement after his suspension, but these proved fruitless.[177] Replacing Elock did not present much difficulty for the APP hierarchy. It handed over his duties to another Ukrainian plainclothesman--H.K. Shandruk.[178]

# CONCLUSION

> *We may define Canadianization as the process of the absorption of the foreign-born into our national life and the acquisition on the part of the foreigner himself of a knowledge of and appreciation for our language, our laws, our institutions and our ideals....The process of Canadianization is one of give and take....If we have an intelligent appreciation of our problem and use common sense methods the process of assimilation will be hastened.*[1]
>
> --George Elmore Reaman,
> "Canadianization of the
> Foreign-Born" (1922)

> *Legal institutions modelled on those of England cannot easily be changed, no matter what alien numbers may be added to the body politic.*[2]
>
> --Robert England, The Central
> European Immigrant in Canada
> (1929)

> *Two groups of people living in contiguous association exert an influence on each other. The group greater in numbers, in culture and in prestige will eventually absorb the lesser group. The process is necessarily regulated by the strength of the national or racial consciousness of the lesser group. The individual is completely assimilated when his fundamental behaviour is that of the assimilators. He may be completely at home with his own racial stock, he may understand their customs and viewpoints, but his own psychology is now that of the greater group.*[3]
>
> --T.C. Byrne, "The Ukrainian
> Community in North-central
> Alberta" (1937)

In 1931, the Alberta government stripped Ukrainian-Canadian JPs in east central Alberta of their judicial powers. This action arrested the development of the unique system of justice that had been evolving in the bloc. It was a harbinger of things to come. In 1932, circumstances radically transformed the pattern of policing and the nature of the court system in the Ukrainian colony. By the mid-1930's, the frontier justice system which had existed in the bloc settlement prior to the Great Depression had been completely overhauled. Suddenly, unexpectedly, Ukrainian Canadians lost virtually all influence over the administration of law and order in east central Alberta.

This transformation came as a shock to the bloc settlers. Over the course of the years between 1892 and 1930, the Slavs had steadily won more and more political leverage within their colony. Their entry into the ranks of the region's justice system reflected their growing power and influence. Men of Ukrainian origin had started at the bottom of the social ladder of east central Alberta, but were steadily working their way up the rungs. In fact, by the late 1920's, the appointment of a Ukrainian-Canadian magistrate appeared imminent to many of the Slavic settlers. By this time, Ukrainian justices of the peace had then been serving in the bloc for over fifteen years and the first lawyers of Ukrainian descent had already begun to emerge.[4] It seemed only a matter of time before the government would appoint one of these officials or professionals to act as a police magistrate or judge. The bloc settlers expected appointments such as this as part of the natural evolution of the justice system in east central Alberta. Ukrainians had risen through the ranks--from interpreters, to municipal constables, to justices of the peace, to special constables, to detachment constables, to detectives. The Slavic settlers felt confident that Ukrainian Canadians would eventually occupy even higher offices. Few doubted that citizens of Ukrainian descent would continue to win greater control and influence over the functioning of the criminal justice system within the bloc.

This, however, did not happen. Shortly after the onset of the Great Depression, the Alberta government decided to forestall growing Ukrainian influence over the enforcement of law and the administration of courts in east central Alberta. By the mid-1930's, the only Ukrainian policemen still at work in the Ukrainian colony were municipal constables and members of the RCMP moonshine squad. Gone was the Ukrainian special constable, the Ukrainian detachment constable, and the Ukrainian police detective. With the stroke of a pen, the Attorney General suspended the judicial powers of the Ukrainian-Canadian JPs. No police magistrate of Ukrainian origin would ever be appointed in Alberta. The province would not receive its first judge of Ukrainian descent until 1953--long after the forces of assimilation had eradicated almost all traces of Ukrainian pioneer society in east central Alberta.[5]

What prompted the government to suddenly abort the development of the unique justice system in the bloc? It seemed to sense that the accommodations it had been forced to reach with the Ukrainian settlers during the 1915-1929 era, arrangements once necessary for the preservation of order in the Ukrainian community, were no longer required. This perception proved to be quite accurate.

By the onset of the Great Depression, most of the serious resistance of the Slavic settlers to the Canadian criminal justice system had been overcome. Vigilantism was on the wane. The Ukrainians reported crimes more often and offered more co-operation to the police. They proved far more disposed to serving as witnesses in court. In sum, their exaggerated fears of the police and judicial officials had greatly diminished.[6] By 1929, the Slavs had realized that, despite its faults, the British-Canadian system dispensed a fairer brand of justice than they had ever known in the past. As a result, the Ukrainian Canadians would continue to make regular use of the police and the courts in east central Alberta--even if their countrymen did not play as prominent a role in the justice system as before. Thus, the chief assimilatory goals of the police establishment and the Department of the Attorney General had been accomplished in the foreign colony.

The purge of Ukrainian officials--the suspension of the powers of the Ukrainian JPs in particular--can be seen as an attempt by the Alberta government to clamp down on the growing Ukrainian influence over the justice system of east central Alberta. This, however, would be an overly simplistic interpretation of the situation. Alberta's Attorney General, after all, did not merely suspend Ukrainian-Canadian JPs and replace them with Anglo-Saxon ones; he appointed a full-time, professional police magistrate to deal with court cases in the bloc. This move, in fact, probably improved the overall quality of the court system in the region. The police magistrate was less subject to community pressures than the justice of the peace, because he travelled from district to district instead of residing in the locality where he heard cases. Furthermore, the PM had more background and training in the law than the average JP. The suspension of the bloc's justices of the peace marked the beginning of the modernization of the justice system in east central Alberta. It was a precursor of identical measures taken in other regions of Alberta only two years later.

The year 1932 would mark the beginning of the end of Alberta's frontier justice system. In this year, the province disbanded the APP and the RCMP assumed the policing of rural Alberta.[7] The mounties who took over the rural detachments of the Ukrainian colony in 1932 differed markedly from the ones who had surrendered them in 1917. The fifteen-year interval had seen them develop into a national police force, one transformed by changes in organization, training, and technology. Improvements in automobiles, highways and communication systems made the Depression-era mounties of the bloc less isolated and less independent than their forerunners. As a national force, the RCMP would be less sensitive to the regional and ethnic diversities of some Albertan communities. While problems in law enforcement within the east central Albertan bloc and the political repercussions of these problems might have been a significant concern for an Edmonton-based police establishment, they were not for one based in Ottawa.

In 1933, the Alberta government began to modernize its lower court system. In duplication of the move already taken in the Ukrainian colony two years earlier, it replaced Alberta's army of untrained justices of the peace with a company of professional police magistrates. Guidelines provided that only men of "wide experience" and "legal training" were to be appointed.[8] Thus, on a province-wide scale, the pioneer court system was finally put to rest.

The unique style of law enforcement in the Ukrainian colony would not survive the demises of the APP and the JP courts. Yet, it would be hard to lament the passing of the era of frontier justice in the Ukrainian colony. It was, after all, a period marked by considerable capriciousness in the enforcement of the law. Certainly, one would not want to return to an era where a common policeman had so much independence and wielded so much power within his area of jurisdiction. One would not want to revert to a period where arbitrary and half-literate officials with no training in the law dispensed rough justice in the local courts. While one might condemn the prejudices which led to the dismissal of Ukrainian officials in east central Alberta, one must concede that the quality of justice meted out by these men was often not of the highest order.

Nonetheless, the frontier justice system provided the flexibility needed by the Slavic settlers during their difficult adjustment to life in a new land. In the pre-Depression era, the relative freedom of action enjoyed by detachment constables provided them with the opportunity to adapt the law to local conditions in the Ukrainian colony. Instead of having to feed the mistrust of the Galicians and Bukovinians with stern, uncompromising, by-the-book law enforcement, the bloc policemen were able to nurture the confidence of the Slavs with conciliation and accommodation.

In 1929, Robert England's book The Central European Immigrant in Canada likened the assimilation of immigrants to the processing of metal sheets in a factory; success depended on resisting the temptation to use direct, heavy-handed force to achieve uniformity:

> In the process of rolling metal sheets, it sometimes happens that, owing to some trick of the temperature or fault in the material, a bulge makes its appearance on the surface of the sheet. The question is how to straighten it out. The inexperienced might answer, "By hammering

> on the bulge!" but the experienced know that if you do that you will crack the sheet, so they hammer all around it, beginning as far off as possible and gradually drawing nearer to the offensive spot. Meanwhile the bulge which they are careful not to touch, slowly diminishes and finally disappears. Avoid hammering on the bulge, but hammer diligently all around it.[9]

This analogy can be directly applied to law enforcement in the pre-Depression Ukrainian colony. During the 1915-1929 era, experienced detachment constables learned "not to hammer on the bulge" in their policing of the bloc; that is, they realized that a rigid enforcement of Canadian laws and a confrontational approach in dealing with the Slavs would not lead to the rule of law and order in the Ukrainian community. Those policemen who had long tours of duty in the interior of the bloc settlement--men like Bill Buchanan, Bill Reay, and Cliff Gair--came to appreciate that the cultural mores of the immigrants had to be taken into account by Canadian officials serving in the colony. For example, they learned that it was usually better to wink at the Ukrainian bootleggers than to enter into bitter war against widespread moonshining which had become a veritable cultural industry for the bloc settlers. In this case, they refrained from hammering on the bulge, but instead hammered all around it.

Justice officials of east central Alberta followed up compromises on law enforcement with offers of co-operation. Shortly after the outbreak of the Great War, they came to understand that it was beneficial to employ Ukrainian agents for police and court duties--even if these first Slavic officials proved deficient in some of the qualities of the ideal public servant. When Ukrainian Canadians and British Canadians worked together to adapt the justice system to the bloc environment, they successfully undermined Ukrainian fears of the police and the courts. By the onset of the Great Depression, the bloc settlers were making use of the institutions and services which they had adamantly opposed and obstructed in 1915. Thus, in their roundabout way, the justice officials of the Ukrainian colony accomplished their assigned goals of assimilation more rapidly and more fully than their overseers had right to expect.

# NOTES

## INTRODUCTION

[1] Report of Commissioner A.B. Perry, RNWMP Report 1904 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1905): 1.

[2] J.S. Woodsworth, ed. Ukrainian Rural Communities: A Report of Investigation for the Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta (Winnipeg: Bureau of Social Research, 1917): 4, 139.

[3] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. [Edward Ettershank ("Ted" or "Buck")] Buchanan, a veteran of the Alberta Provincial Police and of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Edmonton, Alberta, 3 November 1989).

[4] By use of the term "Ukrainian colony," I do not mean to imply that a political (colonial) relationship existed between the Ukrainian settlement and a Ukrainian state. No such connection was possible. This term is simply used to denote an area where people of the Ukrainian nation resided in a particular section of another country--in this case, the east central Albertan region of Canada. This is the meaning of the term as used by early-twentieth-century Canadians.

Over the years, writers have referred to the Ukrainian bloc settlement in east central Alberta by other names. These include: "the Edna-Star colony", "the Star colony", "the Vegreville colony", "the Ruthenian colony", "the Galician colony", "the Central European colony", "the Austrian colony", "the Russian colony", "the Russo-Austrian colony", and the "Ukrainian colony in north-central Alberta."

In the early twentieth century, the terms "block" and "block settlement" were used interchangeably with "bloc" and "bloc settlement" in reference to the Ukrainian colony. The latter pair are now the preferred forms.

[5] At the onset of the Great Depression, sociologist Charles Young noted that "the very large Vegreville colony" extended "from Bruderheim east to Vermilion, for about 90 miles or more" and had "an average width of over 50 miles." He estimated the population of the

Ukrainian bloc to be more than 50,000. [Charles Young, The Ukrainians in Canada (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931): 73.]

[6] John C. Lehr, "The Government and the Immigrant: Perspectives on Ukrainian Block Settlement in the Canadian West," Canadian Ethnic Studies volume IX, number 2 (1977): 42-52.

[7] John C. Lehr, "The Government and the Immigrant": 46-51.

[8] Howard Angus Kennedy, New Canada and the New Canadians (London: Musson Book Company Limited, 1907): 124.

[9] T.C. Byrne was one of many Canadian scholars to make this point in the early twentieth century. In his thesis "The Ukrainian Community in North-central Alberta," Byrne stated: *"It is not long before I realized that I had held uninformed opinions about Ukrainian society in Alberta. It is difficult to have even a cursory knowledge of the origin of a people whose history lies buried in the story of at least three nations and who have never, except for brief periods, had a government that they might call their own."* [T.C. Byrne, "The Ukrainian Community in North-Central Alberta" (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1937): 4.]

[10] An assortment of Elston's articles can be found in the collection of the Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA), Accession Number 65.55.

[11] Miriam Elston, "A Greek Easter Service" (PAA 65.55, item 1).

[12] Miriam Elston, "The Canadian Slav and the War" (PAA 65.55, item 2).

[13] Charles Young, 76.

[14] Charles Young, 75-76.

[15] Robert England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1929): 9.

[16] Charles Young, 72.

[17] J.G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli: The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969): 216; Radomir Bilash, "The Colonial Development of East Central Alberta and its Effect on Ukrainian Settlement to 1930" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983): 111-113.

[18] T.C. Byrne, 31.

[19] The early history of the Northwest Mounted Police in Alberta is outlined in John Blue's Alberta: Past and Present, Historical and Biographical [(Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Company, 1924): 171-193].

[20] Walter S. Hughson, "Whitford," Vegreville Observer (18 March 1931): 21; Sophie Buchanan Kettleson, "Mr. and Mrs. McGall" in Lamont and Districts: Along Victoria Trail, ed. Elizabeth Carlsson (Calgary: Friesen Printers, 1978): 313; J.G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli: 264-65.

[21] J.G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli: 265.

[22] Public Archives of Canada (PAC), RG 18-A1, volume 141/file 545 and volume 146/file 96; Letter of the Assistant NWMP Commissioner to Greisbach (10 December 1897): PAC RG 18-B1; Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924 (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1991): 70; Carl Betke, "Pioneers and Police on the Canadian Prairies, 1885-1914" in Unlawful Authority: Readings in the History of Criminal Justice in Canada, ed. R.C. Macleod (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1988): 104-105; R.C. Macleod, The NWMP and Law Enforcement, 1873-1905 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976): 151-152; V.J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964): 322-360.

[23] Annual Report of Superintendent C. Constantine, Commander of "G" Division (Fort Saskatchewan, 1 December 1901) in NWMP Report 1901: 47.

[24] NWMP Report 1901: 44.

[25] Annual Report of Inspector D'A. E. Strickland, Commander of "G" Division (Fort Saskatchewan, 1 December 1904) in RNWMP Report 1904: 106.

[26] RNWMP Report 1904: 104.

[27] The NWMP became the "Royal" Northwest Mounted Police (RNWMP) in 1904.

[28] Annual Report of Superintendent A.R. Cuthbert, Commander of "G" Division (Edmonton, 30 September 1912) in RNWMP Report 1912: 71.

[29] RNWMP Report 1912: 71.

[30] RNWMP Report 1912: 71.

The public occasionally complained about the erosion of police effectiveness in the bloc. In 1908, for example, a letter in the Vegreville Observer criticized the mounted police for not being as active in east central Alberta as they once had been. [Vegreville Observer (29 April 1908).]

[31] NWMP Report 1901: 47.

[32] RNWMP Report 1914: 216.

[33] Peter Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada" in Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians During the Great War, ed. Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983): 2.

[34] Jose Villa Arce, "Alberta Provincial Police Force," Alberta Historical Review volume 21, number 4 (Autumn 1973): 16-19; Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History" (Edmonton: Alberta Historic Sites, 1985): 4-5; Harold Fryer, Alberta: The Pioneer Years (Langley, British Columbia: Stagecoach Publishing, 1977): 72-74; K. Kavanaugh, "The Alberta Provincial Police," RCMP Quarterly volume 38, number 1 (January 1973): 28-31.

[35] APP Annual Report 1918 (PAA 72.370, Item 1a): 1-2.

[36] RNWMP Report 1914: 7.

[37] Annual Report of Inspector D'A. E. Strickland, Commander of "G" Division (Fort Saskatchewan, 1 December 1904) in RNWMP Report 1904: 107.

[38] The judiciary and administration of justice in pre-Depression Alberta is described in John Blue's Alberta: Past and Present, Historical and Biographical [pp. 154-159].

[39] Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 35-44.

[40] Conditions in the Fort Saskatchewan prison, as they existed during the 1920's and 1930's, are described in Stanley Rand's "The Individual Offender: A Study Based on Case Histories of One Hundred and Twenty-Nine Inmates of Fort Saskatchewan Gaol" [(M.A. thesis,

University of Alberta, 1933): 158-166, 193-195]. See also: APP Annual Report 1928: 51-52; PAA 75.126, item 2594a; Peter Ream, The Fort on the Saskatchewan (Edmonton: Douglas Printing Company, 1957): 107-109.

Comparable conditions in the Lethbridge Provincial Gaol are detailed in a 1921 report prepared for J.E. Brownlee, the Attorney General of Alberta [PAA 75.126, item 2744].

## CHAPTER ONE--"The Outsiders: British-Canadian Officials in the Ukrainian Colony"

[1] Wasyl Swystun, "Life Stories of Immigrants: The Rights of the Immigrant, Part Three" in Ukrainian Rural Communities, ed. J.S. Woodsworth: 128.

[2] APP Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.370, item 4a): 76.

[3] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan, a veteran of the APP and RCMP (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

Other bloc policemen have echoed Buchanan's statement. For instance, Cliff Gair found the police detachment at Bashaw, Alberta, "very quiet" (when he was transferred there in the 1930's) in comparison to the bloc detachments at Vegreville and Two Hills (where he had served between 1925 and 1933). [Kathy Warden, "Memories of 'Maintaining the Right': Three Former Mounties Recall Life in the RCMP of the Twenties and Thirties," Herald Magazine (July 6, 1973): 9.]

The APP hierarchy certainly recognized bloc districts as demanding postings for detachment men. For example, in 1923, "A" Division Inspector J.S. Piper noted of the Smoky Lake area: *"Constable [Bill] Buchanan is in charge of this district and has a very difficult district to handle, practically all Galicians and several factions of them."* [PAA 79.287, Item 10a.]

In 1929, APP Inspector W.F.W. Hancock suggested that the bloc presented more formidable challenges for provincial policemen than other regions in "A" Division. [APP "A" Division Annual Report 1929 (PAA 72.370, item 12a): 39, 47.]

[4] Robert England, The Central European Immigrant: 146.

[5] Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982): 22-37.

T.C.Byrne summarized the Anglo-Canadian view of the Ukrainian settlers in the early twentieth century as follows:

> *The general attitude was that the "Russians" or "Galicians" were undoubtedly good workers, but that they were not "white" and were certainly very inferior to English speaking people.*

> *One might condescendingly speak to "John" or "Mike" in bastard English which the Canadian fancied was "Russian". But any other form of social intercourse was unthinkable. The Galician was presumably dirty, he smelled powerfully of garlic and treated his women in a way which did not meet with the approval of our people. Stories were circulated about his under-ventilated house, which quite often, sheltered pigs and chickens as well as human beings. The prevailing opinion, right or wrong, was that the Galician was an untrustworthy and vindictive person.*["The Ukrainian Community in North-central Alberta," p. 2.]

At Edna, the first Ukrainian immigrants settled near Norwegians from the United States. Within a couple of years of their arrival, most of these Scandinavian homesteaders had abandoned east central Alberta, preferring not to live near "the Sheepskins." [J.G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli: 68.]

[6] PAA 83.192, item 593; PAA 83.192, item 647.

Historian Elise Corbet noted that Constable Reay was a "not infrequent customer of the 'moonshiners'" at Andrew. ["The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 32.]

[7] PAA 75.125, item 415; PAA 75.125, item 145; Serge Zolo [Serge Zolotoohin], Sentenced to Adventure: An Autobiography (London: George Harrap and Company, 1936): 152-181.

[8] PAA 83.192, item 660.

[9] Letter of Frank Oliver to Fred White, 1 June 1899, and Report of Inspector J.O. Wilson, 21 June 1899 (PAC RG 18-A1, volume 172, number 438); R.C. Macleod, The NWMP and Law Enforcement: 151; Carl Betke, "Pioneers and Police on the Canadian Prairies, 1885-1914": 105. See also: "A Report of a case of smallpox at the Gallician [sic] Settlement" (18 August 1898): PAA 66.166, item 98.

In subsequent years, the mounted police continued to receive numerous false alarms about the lawless activities of the Ukrainian settlers. The police received the greatest number of groundless complaints about the "foreigners" during the Great War. In 1915, RNWMP Commissioner A. Bowen Perry commented on this phenomenon: *"Disturbing reports have been received, and alarming rumours have been current from time to time, all of which, no matter how trivial or improbable, have been investigated and found to be baseless."* [RNWMP Report 1915: 8.] Superintendent T.A. Wroughton of "G" Division noted that the investigation of hearsay accounts of "enemy alien" crime in east central Alberta was time-consuming and frustrating: *"We have had the usual wild rumours of fortifications, spies, concealment of arms and ammunition, etc., which on investigation were found to be without foundation ....Unfortunately, a good many persons have endeavoured to use this means of revenging themselves upon their neighbours, and a large number of reports of alleged sedition and other kindred crimes have been reported."* [RNWMP Report 1915: 92, 103.]

[10] RNWMP Report 1911: 8.

In 1916, W.H. Pike cited the complaint of a Ukrainian settler in the Chipman district of east central Alberta who claimed that neither the law nor the moral standards of the community were being upheld in the absence of effective policing. The settler lamented that, while a woman in the district was living openly in a state of bigamy and adultery, there was "no law to reach her." [W.H. Pike, "The Chipman District" in Ukrainian Rural Communities, ed. J.S. Woodsworth: 83.]

[11] Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta: 286.

Prior to 1890, the NWMP had enjoyed quite a high ratio of policemen to general population in the Northwest. In 1880, for example, there was roughly one mountie for every sixty-seven persons in the region. The arrival of European settlers and the reduction of police strength, however, greatly sapped the vitality and efficiency of the men in scarlet.

Between 1891 and 1901, the population of Canada's Northwest Territories doubled through immigration and agricultural settlement. During the same decade, the strength of the NWMP in the region was reduced by one-half [NWMP Report 1901: 2.]. In 1901, Commissioner A. Bowen Perry noted that the rapid increase of population had caused an expansion of police duties which, given its reduced size, the NWMP had "great difficulty in meeting." [NWMP Report 1901: 1-2.]

After 1901, further reductions of police numbers and an even greater influx of immigrant-farmers eroded the power of the force even more. In 1901, there was roughly one mountie in Alberta to every 350 of the population. By 1914, this ratio had been reduced to one policemen to every 1335 Albertans. In 1901, a mountie on detachment in Alberta patrolled an average area of 500 square miles. [NWMP Report 1901: 2.] The APP detachment men who policed the Ukrainian settlement during the 1917-1929 era had jurisdictions which were from two to fourteen times greater in area.

In 1912, the RNWMP Commissioner commented on the erosion of police effectiveness as follows: *"The work of the force is ever growing, but our strength does not increase, and the duties fall more heavily on the individual member. The West is growing. New areas are coming under settlement, new towns are springing up, and railways are extending. With it, all our burdens grow heavier. I endeavour as best as I can to meet these conditions, but not to my satisfaction."* [RNWMP Report 1912: 8.]

[12] PAA 79.287, item 10a.

[13] W.E. Buchanan, "Recollections" and "Smoky Lake Detachment 1920" in Our Legacy: History of Smoky Lake and Area (Winnipeg: Inter-Collegiate Press of Canada/Smoky Lake and District Cultural and Heritage Society, 1983): 6, 10.

Ukrainian settler William Chahley remembered winter as the most difficult season for travel in the early-twentieth-century bloc. He remarked, *"Roads in those days often meant lowering a farmer's fence line to travel in the fields where the horses could foot through the snow. Those few who possessed cars usually put them up on blocks for the winter...the highways we know today were non-existent then."* William Chahley's father, Kost Chahley, transported policemen from the Smoky Lake detachment in his horse-drawn "sleigh caboose" during severe winter weather. [William Chahley, "Mr. and Mrs. Kost Chahley" in Our Legacy: History of Smoky Lake and Area": 351.]

[14] Robert England, The Central European Immigrant: 103-104.

[15] Letter of the Alberta Attorney General to R.W. McPherson (Edmonton, Alberta, January 11 1921): PAA 83.192, item 580/581; Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 38-39.

[16] Serge Zolo [Serge Zolotoohin], 167-68.

[17] PAA 75.126, item 1049.

In 1921, Alberta's Attorney General outlined his reasons for trying to curtail "unnecessary" APP investigations and travel:

> *There is another weakness, perhaps, in connection with the Provincial Police Force, and that is the long distances which often require to be travelled, and therefore expense entailed in many investigations and in connection with arrests. Alarms will be sent out and telephone messages sent to the nearest Provincial policeman greatly exaggerated as to the crime committed, and entailing considerable expense in investigating, when perhaps it may turn out to be merely a case of dispute between two neighbours which ought to have been settled by a summons before a Justice of the Peace, or as a matter of fact should have been settled amicably between themselves. Our Police, however, soon get experience in connection with these things and try to satisfy themselves that the case is really of sufficient importance for them to take the trip before understanding it, but nevertheless you will readily be understood that at times they are imposed upon.* [Letter of the Alberta A.G. to R.W. McPherson Esq., Barrister, Toronto, Ontario (Edmonton, Alberta, 11 January 1921): PAA 83.192, item 580/581.]

[18] The common translation of "zhydy" is "Jews."

The Ukrainian pioneers also referred to Anglo-Canadians as "the English" ("anglyiky" or "anhliytsi"). This name was often used as a term of derision.

Researcher Nick Kach commented on the Ukrainian pioneers' reaction to Anglo-Canadians, British-Canadian culture and the English language in his essay "Education and Ethnic Acculturation." [Essays on Canadian Education, ed. Nick Kach et al. (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1986): 50-53.] Kach quoted one bloc settler who stated that her immigrant father had tried to prevent his children from learning the English language during the early twentieth century. The foreign-born father had summed up his opposition to his children's study and use of English in the following declaration: "I do not want Jews [zhydy] in my house."

[19] Syvalya Elchen, interview with Jean Moisey, widow of pioneer-era justice of the peace G.H. Moisey, Andrew, Alberta, 18 November 1982.

[20] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan, 3 November 1989.

In 1930, Albertan historian C.A. MacInnis described the immigrants from eastern Europe as follows: *"They brought with them a deep-rooted hatred of all officials and particularly of the Police, since in the country they had left behind, these were the agents and instruments of oppression."* [C.A. MacInnis, In the Shadow of the Rockies (London: Rivingtons, 1930): 112.]

[21] Zonia Keywan, Greater Than Kings (Montreal: Harvest House, 1977): 110.

For an account of how this fear could be passed on to Canadian-born children by their foreign-born parents, see: William Chahley, "Mr. and Mrs. Kost Chahley" in Our Legacy: History of Smoky Lake and Area: 352.

[22] Peter Svarich, "The Ruthenians," Vegreville Observer ("Special Anniversary Issue," March 1909): 2.

In 1931, sociologist Charles Young made the following comment:

> *The older generation of Ukrainian Canadians brought with them an inherited respect for the law. They were servile, almost abject in their submission to the constituted authorities. One hears of incidents when Ukrainians, who were brought into the Winnipeg court in the first years of their immigration to Canada, would get on their hands and knees and crawl across the floor of the courtroom until compelled to stand on their feet.* [The Ukrainian Canadians: 276.]

In reference to the immigrants' prostrations before uniformed officials at the port of landing, John Hawkes remarked, *"To our British idea, it is almost incredible that such things could be among white people."* [The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People (Chicago-Regina: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1924): 685.]

[23] Michael Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History second revised edition (Winnipeg: UVAN, 1982): 18-22; Olha Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada second revised edition (Ottawa and Winnipeg: Canadian Ethnic Press Federation, 1968): 10-11.

According to anthropologist Samuel Koenig, Ukrainian peasants even hated the Ukrainian policemen (policejnyki) that they, themselves, chose to keep the peace within their villages. Koenig stated, *"Towards them, as towards officials in general, the peasant is rarely favourably inclined; indeed, he has nothing but contempt for them."* ["The Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia: A Study of their Culture and Institutions" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1935): 518.]

[24] Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 12; Donald Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979): 34-35, 52, 55, 58.

[25] "APP File Concerning Subversives/Revolutionaries--re: Ukrainians," PAA 75.126, item 4612; PAA 75.125, item 401; S.W. Horrall, "The Royal North-West Mounted Police and Labour Unrest in Western Canada, 1919" in Lawful Authority: Readings on the History of Criminal Justice in Western Canada ed. R.C. Macleod (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1988): 133-150.

[26] Anne Woywitka, "Strike at Waterways," Alberta Historical Review, volume 20, number 4 (Autumn 1972): 5.

In "Strike at Waterways" and "Recollections of a Union Man" [Alberta History volume 23, number 4 (Autumn 1973): 6-20.], Woywitka reveals the typically unpleasant encounters that the Ukrainian immigrants had with the Canadian police on the labouring frontier.

Detachment constables on the frontier regarded the itinerant "foreign" labourers as "a large floating population of undesirables" and kept busy with trying to keep these workers "on the move." [APP Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.370, item 4a): 5.] Consequently, outside of the bloc, merely travelling in search of work or on the way to a destination regularly brought Ukrainian immigrants into conflict with the police.

[27] Peter Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada": 2-24; Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of

Ukrainian Studies Press/University of Alberta, 1991): 323-334; Lubomyr Luciuk and Bohdan Kordan, "Internment Operations, 1914-1920" in Creating a Landscape: A Geography of Ukrainians in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989): 19-20.

[28] Peter Melnycky, "The Internment of Ukrainians in Canada": 6.

[29] PAA 66.166, item 1114.

[30] PAA 66.166, item 1114.

[31] Charles Young, 277.

[32] Charles Young, 252-53.

Contemporary observers often likened the Ukrainians' resentment of "the rule of the alien" to that of the Irish. [See, for example: Dr. Walter Murray, "Continental Europeans in Western Canada," Queen's Quarterly volume XXXVIII (1931): 74.]

[33] Charles Young, 277.

Young noted that a prison record was not "a subject of reproach or discredit" among the Ukrainians as it was among Anglo-Saxons. He added that the bloc settlers' reaction to incarceration in Canadian penal institutions "involved not a stigma as one might expect, but actually respect." Because of this, Young maintained, the Ukrainian response to traditional Canadian methods of punishment was "quite the reverse of that anticipated by the authorities!"

[34] APP "A" Division Annual Report 1928 (PAA 72.370, item 11a): 17-18.

Policemen had commented on the immigrants' propensity for taking the law into their own hands since the turn of the century. For instance, in 1904, Inspector Strickland of the RNWMP's "G" Division made the following comment:

> *I find them as a whole, law-abiding, but as few of them speak English, it is sometimes hard for our men to make them understand the laws of the country. They are utterly unable to understand that all have equal rights, and they, therefore, on some occasions are too free in their interpretation and take*

> *the law into their own hands, and, as a natural consequence, trouble arises therefrom.* [Annual Report of Inspector D'A. E. Strickland, Commander of the RNWMP's 'G' Division (Fort Saskatchewan, 1 December 1904) RNWMP Report 1904: 103.]

[35] Historian Zonia Keywan viewed Ukrainian-Canadian vigilantism as a legacy of the Ukrainians' relationship with the police of Galicia and Bukovina. She explained this appraisal in the following excerpt from Greater Than Kings:

> *Internal problems, disagreements, even crimes suspected or committed, were rarely reported to the authorities. Under Austrian rule in their native provinces, the people had learned to regard all figures of authority--police, military, government officials--with fear and suspicion, for they knew only too well that the function of officials was not to help the powerless peasants, but only to oppress them. This deeply rooted attitude of fear and mistrust remained with the immigrants during their first years in Canada.* [Zonia Keywan, 111.]

Veteran bloc policeman E.E. Buchanan remarked that, during the pre-Depression era, the Ukrainians of east central Alberta "were living the same as they would in their old country" and had "the tendency to settle things themselves." [Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 3 November 1989).]

[36] In Down Memory Trails: A History of Two Hills and Surrounding Area, Mike Kostek recounted a typical incident of Ukrainian vigilante justice:

> *In one reported incident a barbwire fence erected by a Ukrainian farmer was torn down by an English-speaking rancher whose cattle once grazed freely. The fence was repaired, only to be pulled down again. This action prompted the Ukrainian farmer and his sturdy neighbours to lie in wait for a suspected third incident which did come, much to the chagrin of the rancher whose body and that of his horse suffered the blows of well-aimed willow saplings. There were no further*

*fence-destroying episodes after this treatment.* [Down Memory Trails: A History of Two Hills and Surrounding Area, ed. Mike Kostek (Two Hills, Alberta: Two Hills Historical Society, 1985): 8.]

[37] "Crime Report re: Alex Pashniak, Steve Olynyk, George Hackmann, Nikifor Hlewko, Mike Holowichuk and Metro Severan--Common Assault" (PAA 75.126, item 953).

[38] PAA 72.25, item 517.

One of many cases that demonstrate how vigilante actions could lead to serious violence is the 1919 case "Rex vs. Pete Muzayko." In this case, an incident of goose theft and the angry response of the owner of the stolen birds led to a fight with sticks and the knifing of Lamont settler Jaga Broski. [PAA 72.26, item 2279.]

[39] See, for example, "Crime Report re: Fred Hryk--Shooting Cattle" (Andrew Detachment, Andrew, Alberta, 25 April 1928).

Many cases involving the killing, shooting and wounding of farm animals by Ukrainian settlers can be found in the pre-1930 criminal case files of Alberta's Attorney General's Department. [PAA 72.26].

[40] Charles Young, 269.

[41] Gerry Dunsmore, interview with W.E. [William Ettershank ("Bill" or "Buck")] Buchanan, a veteran of the RNWMP/RCMP and APP, Calgary, Alberta, 28 May 1973, (Calgary: Glenbow Archives of Alberta, RCT-137-1).

A 1909 article in the Vegreville Observer noted that the Ruthenians were "a primitive people" who took revenge for "fancied wrongs." [Vegreville Observer, April 21 1909: 2.]

APP veteran Dennis Mighall recalled that the Ukrainian settlers of east central Alberta had "a volatile nature" and "were given to petty grievances." For revenge, he claimed, some bloc settlers were liable to do almost anything. [Elise Corbet, interview with Dennis Mighall, a veteran of the APP (Edmonton, Alberta, 30 August 1984).]

Historian Elise Corbet characterized the typical Anglo-Canadian policeman's view of the Ukrainian settlers during the 1920's as follows: *"They were a...people whose emotions were always near the surface and who had* *a great capacity for both love and hate. Revenge was exacted often in a violent manner...."* [Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 28.]

[42] See, for example: "Mrs. Anton Podhaniuk--Poisoned a Well" (PAA 83.1, middle series, item 4411).

[43] Charles Young, 276; Frances Swyripa, "The Ukrainians in Alberta" in Peoples of Alberta, eds. Howard and Tamara Palmer (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985): 236.

The very expensive court battles that the Ukrainian pioneers fought over simple wooden churches astounded contemporary Anglo-Canadians. These cases gave the Ukrainian settlers a reputation for litigiousness that rivalled that of the ancient Athenians. As T.C. Byrne noted, the relations between Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox believers in the bloc "developed all the bitterness of a civil war." [Byrne, 50.] Contacts between Galicians who remained Greek Catholics and those who switched their allegiances to the Russian or Ukrainian Orthodox churches proved to be especially hostile. [See, for example: Merian Strashok, "Ukrainian Catholic Church of St. Nicholas at St. Michael, Alberta" in Pride in Progress: Chipman/St. Michael/Edna-Star and Districts (Chipman, Alberta: Alberta Rose Historical Society, 1982): 160.] The fact that the Ukrainian immigrants were willing to spend thousands of dollars on lawyers' fees and court costs in quarrelling over churches (which were worth, at the most, several hundred dollars) shows their grim commitment to their internecine religious struggle.

The most infamous Ukrainian-Canadian lawsuit involved the Galician pioneer church at Edna-Star in east central Alberta. This court case is described in many sources. [These include: "Zacklinski vs. Polishie, 1908," Law Journal Reports for the Year 1908, Privy Council Cases volume LXXVII (London, 1908); Vasyl Czumer, Spomyny (Edmonton: 1942): 63; Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981): 36-40; J.G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli: 198-203; John Blue, Alberta Past and Present: 250; Jaroslav Petryshyn, Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914 (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1985): 130; Wasyl Swystun, "Lamont District," in Ukrainian Rural Communities: 87; Odarka S. Trosky, The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada (Winnipeg: Bulman Brothers, 1968): 4-5; Margaret Stobie, "Pope and Czar on the

North Saskatchewan: Christians Come to Blows at Star, Alberta, 1901," The Beaver volume 69, number 2 (April/May 1989): 4-15.] The case dragged on for almost seven years before being decided in 1907 by the highest court of the British Empire--the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England. The costs of the prolonged legal proceedings (reportedly $75,000) bankrupted several of the original Galician homesteaders in the Star district.

Regrettably, the protracted court battle did not end the war over Canada's first Ukrainian parish property. When the ultimate verdict was handed down, the Star church was burnt down--it seems safe to assume, by the losing (Catholic) side in the lawsuit. When a new structure was erected in its place, it was torched as well. The third church building on the site, which was constructed in 1926-27, remains standing to this day. [Eric Holmgren, "Star," The Canadian Encyclopedia, ed. James H. Marsh (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1988): 2068.] When the Greek Catholic Ukrainians of Star built a church to replace the one they had lost in court, it did not escape the flames either. Russo-Orthodox arsonists set it afire in 1922. ["First Ukrainian Catholic Parish in Canada (1897-1982): Assumption of Blessed Virgina Mary, Star/Edna, Alberta" in Pride in Progress: Chipman/St. Michael/Edna-Star and Districts: 153-154.]

Similar episodes took place in other rural communities of the bloc. For instance, a schism in the congregation of the Ukrainian church of St. Mary at Szypenitz, Alberta, resulted in bitter quarrelling over the parish property and two burnings of the church structure (in 1909 and in 1916). ["Szypenitz Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of St. Mary" in Down Memory Trails: A History of Two Hills and Surrounding Area: 220.] Another Ukrainian religious feud resulted in the conflagrations which twice destroyed the Holy Trinity Church at Wostok, Alberta (in 1907 and again in 1932). [Tom Nemirsky, "Russian Orthodox Church of Holy Trinity, Wostok, Alberta" in Pride in Progress (Chipman, Alberta: Alberta Rose Historical Society, 1982): 175; Theodore Nemirsky, "How the Church Began" in 90 Years Later, 1895-1985 (Edmonton, Alberta: Halkow-Kozakewich Family History Society, 1985): 14-15.] The Star, Szypenitz and Wostok church burnings typify those committed in other districts of the bloc during the early twentieth century. In Ukrainian rural communities troubled by arson, brick or stone replaced wood as the primary building material used in church construction.

[44] See, for example: PAA 84.37, item 1219a; Down Memory Trails: A History of Two Hills and Surrounding Area: 96; Marie Lesoway and Ron Macleod, "The Russia School and Barn: A History of Structure and Land Use" (Edmonton: Alberta Historic Sites Service, 1985): 13.

On occasion, the Ukrainian settlers even used arson as a weapon against their non-Ukrainian political opponents. For instance, in September 1920, farmers in the Zawale district burnt down the community's rural schoolhouse because of their "grudge against schools and the enforcement of the [School] Attendance Act." [APP Annual Report 1920 (PAA 72.370, item 3a): 75.]

[45] The impotence of the bloc police in the prevention and investigation of arson is perhaps best illustrated by the experience of Ukrainian farmer Harry Hawryliuk. In 1921-1922, arsonists thrice struck Hawryliuk's farm in the Slawa district. On the night of November 8th, 1921, they set fire to six stacks of his grain. On the 22nd of April 1922, they burned down his barn. Four days later, they destroyed his house and granary. After the third conflagration, Constable W.G. Wells observed, "Not a thing had been saved, and Hawryliuk was destitute." The APP could make no headway in the investigation of any of these three fires. Constable Wells did not know whether to blame the destruction on "the bad blood" between Hawryliuk and his two brothers or on the ill will between Hawryliuk and his other neighbours. The APP laid charges in all three cases, but these ultimately had to be dismissed for lack of evidence. [PAA 72.26, item 4065; PAA 72.26, item 4415.]

[46] PAA 75.126, item 952.

[47] "Crime Report re: Mrs. Phillip Lukamanko--Common Assault" (Andrew Detachment, Andrew, Alberta, 17 September 1925).

[48] "Rex vs. Andrew Lyzaniuk and Alec Mandrusiak--Assault Causing Grievous Bodily Harm" (PAA 83.1, middle series files, item 7124).

[49] Charles Young, 270.

[50] Gerry Dunsmore, interview with W.E. Buchanan (Calgary, Alberta, 28 May 1973).

Bill Buchanan's transfer from Andrew to Smoky Lake is typical of the APP's handling of police appointments in the Ukrainian colony. In the region, detachment men had longer placements than their counterparts in greater Alberta. Furthermore, when they were rotated, it was often only from one district of the bloc to another. For instance, John James went from Andrew to Lamont, Cliff Gair from Vegreville to Two Hills, and Bill Reay from Andrew to Willingdon. It appears that when a policeman had shown that he could "get the job done" in the foreign colony, APP headquarters was reluctant to move him elsewhere. He would serve several years at one bloc post and then a lengthy term at another bloc post. This was a departure from the standard operating procedure of the force which saw detachment men moved regularly from one region of the province to another.

Bill Buchanan had such a long posting at Smoky Lake, that one Ukrainian resident of that town noted that the Scottish policeman came to be regarded as "an institution in the community and surrounding district." [William Chahley, "Mr. and Mrs. Kost Chahley": 352.]

[51] Gerry Dunsmore, interview with W.E. Buchanan, (Calgary, Alberta, 28 May 1973.

In Ukrainian rural communities which were not effectively served by the NWMP/RNWMP or APP, settlers sometimes elected one of their number to perform police duties. For instance, pioneer Mary Plishka noted that this was done by homesteaders in the Myrnam district to combat horse stealing and cattle rustling. Plishka stated, "We did not have any Mounties in the early years, so a man in the district who had a lot of horses was appointed policeman and he did his best until the real mounties came." [Zonia Lazarowich, "Spomyny ulashtuvannia: spohady Marii Plishky/ Homesteading Memories: Reminiscences of Mary Plishka," Tini mynuloho/Shadows of the Past, ed. Bohdan Shulakewych (Edmonton: St. Michael's Extended Care Centre, 1986): 148.]

Evidently, Ukrainian peasants in Western Ukraine had to make similar arrangements to safeguard their cows and draft animals. For instance, Mary Kruk noted that the Galician villagers of Zbarazh hired a local man to protect the commune's horses from thieves. [Zonia Lazarowich, "A Lifetime of Change: Reminiscences of Mary Kruk" in Tini mynuloho/Shadows of the Past, ed. Bohdan Shulakewych: 113.]

[52] Gerry Dunsmore, interview with W.E. Buchanan, (Calgary,

Alberta, 28 May 1973).

[53] Gerry Dunsmore, interview with W.E. Buchanan, (Calgary, Alberta, 28 May 1973).

[54] PAA 83.192, item 1035.

[55] PAA 83.192, item 635.

[56] "Samuel McPherson" in Dreams and Destinies: Andrew and District (Andrew, Alberta: Andrew Historical Society, 1980): 451.

[57] W.E. Buchanan, "Smoky Lake Detachment 1920": 11.

[58] See, for example: Letter of J.F. Melnyk to the Alberta Attorney General (14 May 1929): PAA 83.192, item 635.

[59] "Annual Report of Inspector D'A. E. Strickland, Commander of the RNWMP's 'G' Division" (Fort Saskatchewan, 1 December 1904) RNWMP Report 1904: 107.

[60] Basil C. d'Easum, "A Galician Wedding: A North-West Incident," The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature volume XIII (May 1899-October 1899): 83-84.

Ironically, d'Easum--who portrayed the Ukrainians as a race of thieves--himself embezzled several hundred dollars from the Fort Saskatchewan Industrial Exhibition Association and had to flee the country in 1908 to escape arrest and prosecution. ["Basil C. d'Easum--Fraud" (PAA 83.1, old series, item 1344); PAA 66.166, item 878.]

In the pre-1914 era, other Anglo-Saxon JPs in east central Alberta scarcely expended more effort than d'Easum in disguising their virulent anti-Slav prejudices. For example, historian Les Hurt noted that JP Charles Lawford openly displayed a "rather condescending attitude towards Ukrainians" and behaved in a way that "did not endear the missionary doctor to his charges." [Leslie Hurt, The Victoria Settlement: 1862-1922 (Edmonton, Alberta Historic Sites Service, 1979): 50.]

[61] Charles Young, 278-279.

[62] PAA 83.192, item 222.

[63] See, for examples: PAA 83.192, item 337; PAA 72.26, item 4317.

[64] PAA 83.192, item 1035.

[65] Letter of A.G. Browning, Deputy Attorney General of Alberta, to George Woolley, justice of the peace for Andrew (Edmonton, Alberta, 27 July 1920): PAA 69.210, item 1550.

Woolley was also notorious for failing to observe proper court procedures and for violating the civil rights of Ukrainian defendants. See, for examples: PAA 72.26, item 1011; PAA 72.26, item 893.

[66] Letter of William Fedun, MLA for Victoria, to A.G. Browning, Deputy Attorney General (Krakow, Alberta, 22 May 1922): PAA 83.192, item 1035.

Evidently not even the Anglo-Saxon policemen who worked with Woolley at Andrew appreciated the English JP's courtroom manner. For instance, Alex Skoreiko, an Andrew resident who assisted Constable Bill Reay with the arrest and escorting of suspected criminals in the 1920's, recalled that "Reay got along with Woolley, but did not like him sitting on cases as he was too strict." [Elise Corbet, interview with Alex Skoreiko (Vegreville, Alberta, 25 October 1984).]

[67] W. Swystun, "Life Stories of Immigrants" in Ukrainian Rural Communities, ed. J.S. Woodsworth: 128.

[68] Charles Young observed: *"'The justice of the Crown' may be 'infallible', but that of the J.P.'s in the rural districts most certainly is not. A bone of contention is the Justice of the Peace from whom the Ukrainians suspect--and with some good reason it appears--that they do not always get justice. Not infrequently, the Ukrainians contend, the Justice of the Peace lets his racial prejudices and animosities determine his attitude toward a case."* [The Ukrainian Canadians: 277-278.]

[69] Ukrainian Rural Communities, ed. J.S. Woodsworth: 48.

Simply, the Ukrainians found it hard to believe that a British-Canadian JP (who typically ran a local store in which they ofttimes felt cheated) would fairly adjudicate their court cases. Robert England made the following comment about the treatment of Slavic settlers by Anglo-Canadian businessmen in the early twentieth century: *"Too often...the English-speaking look upon them and speak of them as 'cattle' and take advantage of them in financial matters, so that many of* *them despise their English-speaking neighbours and have but little confidence in them."* [Robert England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada: 88-89.]

[70] PAA 83.192, item 635.

[71] See, for examples: PAA 72.26, item 4317; PAA 72.26, item 893; PAA 72.26, item 1101.

[72] For instance, in May 1923, more than eighty Ukrainian settlers from the Opal, Egremont and Waugh districts signed a petition calling for the removal of Opal JP R.R. Spaulding. This petition, which was submitted to the Attorney General's Department, accused Spaulding of a number of abuses, including: "overcharging people for cases", "making two or three cases from one small matter", and "using Law to have satisfaction in revenge on those people who voted for [the] U.F.A. candidate." The Ukrainian petitioners alleged that Spaulding, an active member of the Liberal Party, discriminated against U.F.A. supporters in his adjudging of court cases. [PAA 83.192, item 337.]

## CHAPTER TWO--"Crime and the Ukrainian Settler"

[1] Vegreville Observer (21 April 1909): 2.

[2] Arthur Ford, "Ruthenians" in Strangers Within Our Gates, ed. J.S. Woodsworth (1909; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972): 110.

[3] "The Alberta Provincial Police," The Canadian Police Gazette volume 2, number 12 (March 1928): 1.

[4] Peter Svarich, "Ukrainians and Their Progress in the West During Thirty Years," Vegreville Observer (18 March 1931): 13.

[5] T.C. Byrne, 96.

[6] Charles Young, 270.

In 1917, an article in the Vegreville Observer referred to the east central Albertan bloc as a region which was "notorious for its criminal record." [Vegreville Observer (17 January 1917): 4.]

Prairie newspaperman Arthur Ford characterized public opinion of the Ukrainian immigrants in the early-twentieth-century Canadian West as follows: *"In so low an estimation are they held that the word Galician is almost a term of reproach. Their unpronounceable names appear so often in police court news, they figure so frequently in crimes of violence, that they have created anything but a favorable impression."* [Arthur Ford, "Ruthenians" in Strangers Within Our Gates, ed. J.S. Woodsworth: 109.]

[7] See, for example: Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta: 288-293; Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984): 266.

[8] Charles Young, 262-263.

[9] Young was mistaken in his belief that Rumanians are Slavs.

[10] Charles Young, 264.

[11] Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta: 289.

[12] Census of Prairie Provinces 1926 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1931): xi-ix; Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, p. 61; Census of Canada 1931, volume II, table 33: 464-82; J.T. Borhek et al., Persistence and Change: A Study of Ukrainians in Alberta (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, n.d.): 121-122.

In 1928, the government handled convicted offenders with sentences of less than two years as follows: the Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol received male convicts from Red Deer to the northern boundary of Alberta; the Lethbridge Provincial Gaol took male prisoners from Red Deer to the southern boundary of the province; the Female Jail at Fort Saskatchewan accommodated convicted women. [APP Annual Report 1928 (PAA 72.370, item 11a): 51-52.]

In the 1930's, T.C. Byrne and Stanley Rands condemned the Ukrainians of Alberta for excessive criminality based on their erroneous estimation of the size of the Ukrainian population of the province. Both scholars believed that Albertans of Ukrainian descent made up a minuscule 0.4 per cent of the province's total population in 1932 while constituting 2.6 per cent of Fort Saskatchewan Gaol's prisoners. Once again, knowing that Ukrainians made up more than 15 per cent of the portion of the province contributing prisoners to Fort Saskatchewan (and between 7.4 and 8.0 per cent of the total population of Alberta), the determination that the Ukrainian proportion of the inmate population was 2.6 per cent flatters the Slavs. [T.C. Byrne, 96-97; Stanley Rands, "The Individual Offender": 38-42, 125-126.]

[13] Frances Swyripa, "The Ukrainians in Alberta" in Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity, eds. Howard and Tamara Palmer (Saskatoon, Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985): 227-230; J.S. Woodsworth ed, Ukrainian Rural Communities: 73-94; Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta: 120, 136-142; Charles Young, 275.

In his 1933 study of the Fort Saskatchewan Gaol, Stanley Rands commented on the economic and social factors which influenced prison statistics:

> *...it would be far from justifiable to conclude that...the labouring man is possessed of much more criminal propensity than the neighbour or other occupational groups. There are many reasons for believing that the percentage of gaol sentences to*

> *offences is much larger among those of limited economic means than it is among those more comfortably situated....There seems to be evidence that those of the labouring class who commit minor infractions of the law are more likely to be arrested and convicted than similar offenders of the business and professional classes. Moreover the largest number of sentences imposed by the magistrate's court, in which the prisoners studied have nearly all been sentenced, are those of a gaol term with the option of a fine. Quite naturally, as a general rule, the labouring man goes to gaol because he lacks the money to pay the fine, and the man of higher social and economic status pays his fine in almost all cases where an option is given. When allowance has been made for these discriminating factors it remains true that homes of poverty furnish conditions conducive to criminal conduct more frequently than homes of economic comfort.* [Stanley Rands, 130-131.]

[14] F. Heap, "Ukrainians in Canada: An Estimate of the Presence, Ideals, Religion, Tendencies and Citizenship of Perhaps Three Hundred Thousand Ukrainians in Canada," Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature volume LIII (1919): 42.

For examples of Ukrainian confusion about Canadian laws see: Vegreville Observer, February 12, 1908; Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History" (Edmonton: Alberta Historic Sites Service, 1985): 29-30.

Preposterous was the claim of Ukrainian immigrant Harry Krys who attempted to rape a Ukrainian woman in the Opal district and justified the action on the basis of his understanding that, because Canada "was a free country," it was "quite in order" for him to violate the lady. [APP "A" Division Annual Report 1928 (PAA 72.370, item 11a): 11; "Harry Krys, Attempted Rape" (PAA 72.26, item 8457).]

[15] Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement: 291; Charles Young, 45-46, 274; W. Swystun, "The Shandro District" in Ukrainian Rural Communities, ed. J.S. Woodsworth: 77; J.T. Borhek et al., Persistence and Change: A Study of Ukrainians in Alberta: 108-119; Stanley Rands, 126.

[16] Vladimir J. Kaye and Frances Swyripa, "Settlement and Colonization" in A Heritage in Transition ed. Manoly Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982): 44; John

Lehr, "The Government and the Immigrant": 44; M. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: 15, 75-76.

[17] The writers who have commented on Ukrainian-Canadian crime have rarely questioned the deeper meaning of the criminal statistics relating to the subject. One exception was Myrna Kostash. Her book All of Baba's Children contains an interesting paragraph about "the usual problems with statistics" and the pitfalls of interpreting criminal behaviour:

> *Were Ukrainian Canadians really disproportionately anti-social or did their violence just seem more sensational, erupting as it did among second-class citizens and thus confirming everybody else's prejudices? "It is true that Ukrainians in general do not enjoy a good reputation as law-abiding citizens." Why? Was there a double standard of violence applied, one for the Anglo-Saxon under which much was forgiven or ignored and another for the "foreigner" whose every gesture of hostility or frustration was construed as an illegality? A survey of the inmates in the Fort Saskatchewan jail in 1932 came to the conclusion that "no other group with the possible exception of the Poles, had as large a proportion in the goal population in Alberta" as the Ukrainians. This only begs the question: were the Ukrainians absolutely more anti-social or were they just more visible, more carefully scrutinized and less able to negotiate their way out of a conviction? Were Ukrainians more violent or were they just part of a mass of poor and thwarted people who struck out indiscriminately against their perceived tormentors? Or against themselves?* [Myrna Kostash, All of Baba's Children (1977; reprint, Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1987): 154-155.]

Although Kostash seems to have accepted the erroneous statistical calculations of Stanley Rands and T.C. Byrne [see footnote #12 above], she, nonetheless, posed some very good questions about the accuracy of crime statistics as a measure of the criminality of a despised minority group.

[18] APP Annual Reports 1918-1929 (PAA 72.370, items 1-12).

Elise Corbet's narrative history of the Andrew APP police post contains a summary of cases handled by the detachment in 1926 and 1927. Corbet's report also provides a breakdown of the cases tried and/or investigated by APP Constable Bill Reay during his tenure at Andrew (1925-1928). The pattern of crime summarized here closely corresponds with that of most other Albertan detachments. One minor discrepancy is the relatively high number of vagrancy cases tried at Andrew. This seems due to Reay's characteristic tendency of charging offenders in many assault cases with "vagrancy" instead of "common assault." Reay apparently did this to save offenders some money; fines for the former offence averaged several dollars less than those imposed for the latter crime. This practice of laying "vagrancy by fighting" charges was not common among detachment men in agricultural districts outside of east central Alberta. [Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 51-52, 126-142.]

[19] The same contention can also be supported by reference to other classes of crime, including violations of the federal Inland Revenue Act, the Alberta Liquor Control Act and the provincial School Attendance Act. Other Albertans broke these laws, but the province's Ukrainians did so in different ways and/or for different reasons.

The topic of moonshining (infractions of the Inland Revenue Act) is touched upon in Chapter Three of this thesis.

[20] The recorded confession of a convicted Ukrainian thief in the 1924 case "Nick Pouliuk--Theft of Wheat" [PAA 83.1, middle series files, item 4206] details a typical incident of grain stealing in the pre-Depression bloc.

[21] APP "A" Division Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.370, item 4a): 31.

The Ukrainian colony did have one particularly enterprising team of cattle rustlers--that of Frank Kostiw and John Truczenski. Their method of stealing horses is described in the following excerpt from the 1915 Report of the RNWMP:

> *These men were operating in the Pakan district, their method being to pick up horses, bring them to Edmonton, fake up bills of sale, and sell them in the auction sales. This mode of disposal made it very hard to trace them up, but*

> *like the proverbial pitcher they went once too often to the well.* ["Frank Kostiw and John Truczenski--Horse Stealing," RNWMP Report 1915: 98-99.]

[22] APP "A" Division Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.370, item 4a): 31.

[23] APP Annual Report 1920 (PAA 72.370, item 3a): 55.

[24] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan, APP/RCMP veteran, 3 November 1989.

Charles Young quoted one Ukrainian settler who remarked, "If my people see things loose they must pick them." [Young, 269.]

Evidently, Ukrainian cultural mores permitted "picking things" under certain circumstances. Mary Kruk, a Galician immigrant who settled in east central Alberta, commented on this situation as follows:

> *We had a custom which was quietly understood by people in our area, especially by those who were poor--if you were going to a wedding and had nothing for a gift, then on the way you could catch a chicken on the road and take that. The understanding was that it was alright to take it because the people were our countrymen--"Bery, bo to nashe," meaning "Take, because it's ours." Somehow, people did not abuse this rule. Much of this is true with us here in Canada. I suppose we brought it with us.* [Zonia Lazarowich, "A Lifetime of Change: Reminiscences of Mary Kruk": 110.]

[25] T.C. Byrne, 35.

In fact, during the 1920's, several attempts to establish bank branches in the townsites of the central and northern bloc proved abortive--due to failures to attract depositors. [Radomir Bilash, "Banking in the Rural Town of the 1920's," (Environmental Interpretation Statement, Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village Research File, n.d.); John Hawrelko, "Redwater Town--An Outline of Its History" in Memories: Redwater and District, ed. A. Hrynchuk (Calgary: D.W. Friesen and Sons, 1972): 23.]

Urban Ukrainian Canadians also appear to have distrusted the banks in the pre-Depression era. [See, for instance: Ukrainskiy holos, 29 January 1919: 8.]

The perils of keeping one's life savings at home are illustrated by the case, "Rex vs. Wasyl Tkachuk and Mike Dromarski--Assault and Robbery" [APP "A" Division Annual Report 1920 (PAA 72.370, item 3a): 13-14. Armed with a revolver, two Ukrainian men, Tkachuk and Dromarski, entered the house of settler George Recklo of Zawale one night. At gunpoint, they tied the farmer up and forced his daughter to show them the hiding place of the family's savings (a sum of $350). The two robbers then put the Recklo family down in the cellar, nailed shut the cellar door, and departed. (Tkachuk was eventually arrested and convicted of the crime, but broke out of the Alberta Penitentiary, made his way to Montreal, secured passage overseas, and returned to his birthplace in Western Ukraine.)

Robbery seems to have been the motive behind the 1919 killings of Duvernay settlers Matey Yaremijczuk and Anna Yaremijczuk and the 1921 murder of Chipman pioneer John Kozdrowski. The Yaremijczuks and Kozdrowski had been known to keep substantial sums of money in their farmhouses. [APP Annual Report 1919 (PAA 72.370, item 2): 14-15; APP "A" Division Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.370, item 4a): 6-8.]

[26] "Burglars Enter Store at Chipman," Edmonton Journal, 23 November 1929.

[27] "Epidemic of Petty Pilfering Reported," Edmonton Journal, 2 August 1929.

[28] "Crime Report re: Wasyl Patriuk--Theft of Wire From Fences" (Andrew Detachment, 15 August 1919): PAA 75.126, item 950.

Charles Young conceded that "an important contributing factor to theft in the Ukrainian settlements, and especially to wheat stealing," was "the extreme hardship attendant on the life of the pioneer." [Charles Young, 275.]

[29] APP Annual Reports 1918-1929, PAA 72.370.

[30] APP Annual Reports 1918-1929 (PAA 72.370); Criminal Case Files, 1915-1929 (PAA 72.26 and PAA 83.1).

Between 1919 and 1930, roughly 11.5% of Alberta's murder and manslaughter cases (21 of 181 cases) involved a Ukrainian defendant or a Ukrainian suspect from east central Alberta--at a time when the Ukrainian population of the bloc and its borderlands constituted about 7% of the total population of the province. [See: Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta: 290-293.] While these figures do not prove absolutely that Alberta's pre-1930 Ukrainian population had a disproportionately high murder rate, a high Ukrainian murder rate would not be inconsistent with the findings discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis. This chapter suggests that, regardless of whether or not the Ukrainians had a high rate of violent crime in the official statistics, Ukrainian-Canadian society qualified as a "subculture of violence" during the 1915-29 era.

For more on pre-Depression Ukrainian-Canadian homicide cases, see: Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: 105.

[31] PAA 80.10.

[32] See, for example: Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta: 288-289; Charles Young, 263-64.

[33] Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada, The Formative Years: 95-98.

The following is a random sampling of violent assaults from the pre-Depression bloc settlement which involved the use of weapons:

--"Rex vs. Sadowski--Attempted Murder," RNWMP Report 1911, page 20 (A Ukrainian farmer stabs another farmer with a pitchfork in a quarrel over hay-cutting rights to an unoccupied quarter section);

--"Rex vs. Elia Pouluk--Murder," RNWMP Report 1916, page 93 (After a midnight quarrel at a drinking party in a Vegreville rooming-house, one Ukrainian immigrant cracks the skull of another immigrant with a stick);

--"Rex vs. Steve Sorochan et al.--Assault Causing Actual Bodily Harm," 19 January 1918, PAA 72.26, item 1340 (At a dance in the Soda Lake district, a man is assaulted by a group of men and struck with a monkey wrench and an iron bolt. He retaliates by stabbing one of the men in the face with a jackknife.);

--"Rex vs. Tepena Nipiuk--Murder of George Bodnarenko near Radway Centre," APP Annual Report 1919, PAA 72.370, item 2: 15-16 (An argument leads to a fight with an axe and a pitchfork--in which Bodnarenko is killed by an axe blow);

--"Rex vs. Jacob Sikorski--Wounding," APP "A" Division Annual Report 1921, PAA 72.370, item 4a, page 25 (In the Innisfree district in November 1920, a man working on a threshing gang argues with two men about the best technique of pitching sheaves and stabs both of them with a pitchfork);

--"Rex vs. John Palamar--Assault Causing Actual Bodily Harm," APP "A" Division Annual Report 1921, PAA 72.370, item 4a, page 27 (In December 1920, a Ukrainian farmer in the Soda Lake district beats a man with a neck yoke for delivering a letter from a Vegreville lawyer to his wife);

--"Rex vs. Nick Poskurniak--Assault," 22 April 1921, PAA 72.26, item 3608 (During a quarrel on a farm in the Chipman district, a man and his wife assault his father and brother with a pitchfork and a fence post);

--"Rex vs. Wasel Lehun et al.--Murder," APP "A" Division Annual Report 1921, PAA 72.370, item 4a, pp. 8-9 (In the Vegreville district, four Ukrainian men beat to death a local ruffian, Alex Boychuk, with implements including an iron rod, a doubletree, an axe, an axe handle, and a hammer);

--"Rex vs. Fred Procinsky, Common Assault," 14 August 1922 (A Ukrainian farmer and his wife quarrel with their neighbour over a fence demarcation line, pull the neighbour from his buggy, and beat him with sticks);

--"Rex vs. Metro Pawliuk--Assault," 23 July 1923, PAA 83.1, middle series files, item 3516 (A Ukrainian farmer attacks school trustees with a scythe and a pitchfork when they attempt to seize one of his wagons as payment for school tax arrears);

--"Rex vs. Sam Zacharko--Attempted Murder," APP Annual Report 1924, PAA 72.370, item 7a, pp. 15-16 (A Ukrainian man strikes a farmer over the head with an axe for refusing to pay a debt of three dollars);

--"Rex vs. Eli Powluk--Assault Causing Grievous Bodily Harm," Vegreville Detachment, 17 May 1926 (A Ukrainian farmer strikes his neighbour on the head with a grain scoop);

--"Rex vs. Eterna Plynick--Common Assault," Andrew Detachment, 30 October 1926 (A Ukrainian woman quarrels with her neighbour and hits the neighbour over the head with a stick);

--"Rex vs. Tom Chornochan, Nick Popowich, George

N. Popowich, and George Popowich--Assault Causing Grievous Bodily Harm," 10 November 1921, PAA 75.126, item 955 (Four members of a threshing gang attack another thresher--who is suspected of carrying a concealed revolver--and beat him with weapons including a stove shaker and an iron bar);

--"Rex vs. Mike Chornohus et al.," 20 November 1924, Vilna, Alberta, PAA 72.26, item 6282 (When the assistant of a Sheriff's Bailiff attempts to seize a threshing machine, the Ukrainian men using the machine beat him with clubs);

--"Rex vs. John Prochinsky--Common Assault," Lamont Detachment, 10 March 1925 (During a quarrel, a Ukrainian settler hits his opponent over the head with a bottle);

--"Rex vs. John Lukinchuk, Assault Causing Actual Bodily Harm," PAA 72.26, item 6390 (A Ukrainian farmer assaults his neighbour with a stick during an argument over a horse deal);

--"Rex vs. John Feischuk--Assault Causing Grievous Bodily Harm," *APP Annual Report 1928*, PAA 72.370, item 11a, page 3 (In retaliation for objectionable name-calling, a Ukrainian settler enters a Mundare cafe and hits another settler over the head with an iron bar, fracturing his skull).

It is revealing that cartoons and stories in early-twentieth-century Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers frequently depict fighting with sticks, axes, pitchforks, and the like. For example, in the cartoon "Na loti blyz'ko Beklainy," a Ukrainian woman hits her neighbour over the head with a hoe during an argument (breaking both the tool and the victim's skull in the process). She then demands sixty cents from the dazed recipient of the blow as compensation for the damaged implement. [*Humorystychnyi Kaliendar Vuika, 1928*: 88.] The most popular of early-twentieth-century Ukrainian-Canadian cartoon heroes, "Vuiko Shtif" ("Uncle Steve") Tabachniuk, would cry out, "Dai sokiru!" ("Give me an axe!") when he became involved in fisticuffs. Tabachniuk was also regularly depicted in fights involving weapons such as shovels, hammers, picks, bottles and crowbars. [See, for example: "Iak Shtif z anglyikom faituvav cia," *Kaliendar Shtifa Tabachniuka, 1918*: 129-130; *Humorystychnyi Kaliendar Vuika, 1931*: 54; J. Maydanyk, *Vuikova Knyha: Richnyk Vuika Shtifa v rycunkakh Ia. Maidanyka* (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Ukrainian-Canadian Historical Publications, 1974): 10-

13.]

The use of weapons in fights was apparently also a trend in violence among Ukrainian immigrants in the United States. In 1904, American sociologist Peter Roberts made the following observations about assaults in the Slavic coal-mining communities of Pennsylvania:

> *The list of weapons used in committing the assaults by persons in mining towns shows how devoid they are of self-control. Among the implements mentioned are: stone, knife, revolver, razor, bar, sprag, chain, dinner-pail, axe, lead-pipe, cuspidor, hammer, chisel, bolt, hatchet, pick, shovel, etc.. Anything the hand can lay ahold of in the excitement of the moment is used, and when no object is available they use their teeth and boots. Accounts of some of the fights among the Sclavs [Slavs] show them to be so brutal and savage that the sensitive is sickened when they are rehearsed. Men are not the only guilty ones; females, when they are enraged, are also found as fierce and bloodthirsty as the men.* [Peter Roberts, Anthracite Coal Communities (New York: Macmillan, 1904): 287.]

[34] Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years: 354-356, 376; Alberta Department of Education Annual Report 1914: 68-69; J.G. MacGregor, 229.

[35] PAA 72.26, item 3877e; APP "A" Division Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.379, item 4a): 26.

[36] PAA 75.126, item 951.

[37] "Crime Report re: Elie Worobec--Common Assault" (Andrew Detachment, 9 December 1925).

[38] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan, 3 November 1989.

In 1921, APP Inspector J.S. Piper noted that "the foreigners" in central Alberta seemed to think that common assault, assault causing bodily harm, and even "the beating of a man to death" were "of little consequence." [APP "A" Division Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.370, item 4a): 31.]

For the Prairie police's general perspective on the violence of the Ukrainian-Canadian pioneers, see: Carl

Betke, "Pioneers and Police on the Canadian Prairies, 1885-1914": 105.

[39] John-Paul Himka, Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies/University of Alberta, 1988): 1-58.

[40] John-Paul Himka, Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century: 147.

[41] Roman Rosdolsky, Stosunki poddancze w dawnej Galiciji volume one (Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962): 77; as cited in John-Paul Himka, Galician Villagers: 16.

[42] John-Paul Himka, Galician Villagers: 16.

[43] John-Paul Himka, Galician Villagers: 16.

[44] Roman Rosdolsky, Stosunki poddancze w dawnej Galiciji volume one: 77; as cited in John-Paul Himka, Galician Villagers: 16.

[45] John Hawkes, The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People (Chicago-Regina: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1924): 685.

[46] Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta: 98; Charles Young, 279; Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984): 266; Frances Swyripa, "From Princess Olha to Baba: Images, Roles and Myths in the History of Ukrainian Women in Canada" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1988): 132; Orest Martynowych, "Village Radicals and Peasant Immigrants: The Social Roots of Factionalism Among Ukrainians in Canada, 1896-1918" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978): 78-79.

V.S. Plaviuk's Prypovidky (Edmonton: 1946) contains Ukrainian-Canadian proverbs that condone the use of violence in a variety of situations and for a variety of purposes. Of course, one cannot precisely determine the percentage of Ukrainian pioneers that was guided by the values of such sayings. Even Orest Martynowych, a scholar who has emphasized the dark side of traditional Ukrainian culture and of the Ukrainian peasant psyche, had to concede that "it is impossible to estimate just how many" Ukrainian-Canadian settlers "retained perceptions, behaviour patterns, and biases peculiar to traditional peasant societies." Martynowych nevertheless opined that "a noticeable proportion of the peasant immigrants" exhibited the traditional habits and perceptions outlined in their folk sayings and songs. [Orest Martynowych, "Village Radicals and Peasant Immigrants": 77-78, 79-99.]

[47] Charles Young, 279. This couplet, however, was not of Ukrainian origin.

It should be noted that Young and other British-Canadian commenters on the "primitive" and "uncivilized" culture of the first-wave Ukrainian immigrants ignored the existence of disturbing folk sayings and songs in their own culture. The late-nineteenth-century English proverb--"A woman a whelp a walnut tree, the more you bash 'em the better they be"--was no less perturbing than the contemporary Ukrainian proverb--"An unbeaten wife is like an unroofed house." [F. Blake Crofton, "Our Fighting Vocabulary," The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art, and Literature volume XVII (May 1901 to October 1901): 53; V.S. Plaviuk, 76.]

The problem of wife-beating was certainly not one confined to Ukrainian communities of pre-Depression Alberta. Domestic violence was relatively widespread in all districts of the province during the early twentieth century. Wife battery in Alberta during the 1905-1920 period is explored in Terry Chapman's "Til Death do us Part" [Alberta History, volume 36, number 4 (Autumn 1988): 13-22].

For more on Ukrainian-Canadian wife-beating, see: Charles Young, 155-57; Myrna Kostash, 170-174; Frances Swyripa, "Nation-Building into the 1920s: Conflicting Claims on Ukrainian Immigrant Women" in Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies/Alberta Historic Sites Service: 1988): 127-129, 143.

[48] See, for example: Marie Lesoway, "Slemko House, Barn and Granary: Narrative History" (Edmonton: Alberta Historic Sites Service, 1986): 336-337, 339-340, 342. Among the folk songs with violent themes recorded here is "U Kanadi, w Manitobi." It recounts the story of a Ukrainian-Canadian settler who murders his wife with a scythe and goes to jail. In this song, the killer does not remain behind bars for long. His children inform the authorities that the homicide was justified (because his wife had been unfaithful to him). As a result of this revelation, the killer is let out of

prison, and he happily returns home with his thankful sons and daughters.

[49] The avowed purposes of most of these items were social criticism and education.

For example, the popular "Vuiko Shtif Tabachniuk" cartoons and stories of Jacob Maydanyk exposed Ukrainian-Canadian violence in the bloc settlement, the Ukrainian urban colony, and the frontier camp. In Maydanyk's cartoons, Vuiko Shtif (Uncle Steve), a recently-arrived immigrant from Galicia, gets involved in a series of misadventures in the pioneer-era West. Shtif's activities include excessive drinking, moonshining, and brawling. The goal of these cartoons was not only to entertain, but to educate. It was said of Vuiko Shtif: "Everybody loved him, but nobody wanted to be like him." Maydanyk noted:

> *Young people like to laugh at an old fellow. In addition to this, you had to create a Tabachniuk who was fat. And he did stupid things like them. On the one hand, they laughed at him; on the other hand, they tried not to be like him. They wanted to be better.*

In the words of historian Frances Swyripa, "As he coped with an unfamiliar world, Vuiko Shtif provided his fellow immigrants with an often unflattering image of themselves while easing their trauma with laughter and practical advice." [Frances Swyripa, "From Princess Olha to Baba": 172.]

Vuiko Shtif cartoons and stories were regularly featured in a number of pre-1930 Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers and almanacs. Maydanyk's work in the early Ukrainian-Canadian press is examined in Halya Kuchmij's National Film Board production, "Laughter in My Soul (1983)." A collection of Maydanyk's cartoons was published in 1974 as Vuikova knyha (Saskatoon: Ukrainian-Canadian Historical Publications, 1974). [See also: Oleksa Hay-Holowko, "Iakiw Maydanyk" in Ukrains'ki pys'mennyky v Kanadi (Winnipeg: Society of Volyn, 1980): 79-99.]

John Skwarok maintained that social criticism was the goal of a great number of Ukrainian plays from the late-nineteenth and the early-twentieth century which contained scenes of drunkenness. In 1958, Skwarok remarked:

> *When the Ukrainian-Canadian child today views a comedy on the many Ukrainian stages throughout the country, he wonders at the great number of drunken tavern scenes. Actually, he is watching satire, for hundreds of Ukrainian comedy plays were written by indignant Ukrainian patriots who, seeing their country going to ruin through alcoholism, produced these plays to show the tragedy that was befalling a nation.* [J. Skwarok, The Ukrainian Settlers and Their Schools (Edmonton: 1958): 6.]

Ukrainian playwrights, writers, intellectuals and newspapermen also treated violence in Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian society as a "tragedy that was befalling a nation." See: Humorystychnyi kaliendar Veselyi Druh, 1922: 101; Frances Swyripa, "From Princess Olha to Baba": 193-194, 209; Michael Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: 302-306; Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years: 123, 296-297; Petro Kravchuk, Hasha stsena (Toronto: Tovarystvo "Kobzar", 1981).

[50] Andriy Nahachewsky, "First Existence Folk Dance Forms among Ukrainians in Smoky Lake, Alberta and Swan Plain, Saskatchewan" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1985): 109-110.

[51] Charles Young, 276.

[52] Vegreville Observer (21 April 1909): 2.

[53] Charles Young, 267.

[54] Elise Corbet, interview with John Moisey, son of Andrew JP Gregory Moisey (Andrew, Alberta, 23 September 1984).

[55] Elise Corbet, interview with Dennis Mighall, an APP veteran (Edmonton, Alberta, 30 August 1984).

[56] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (3 November 1989).

[57] "Rex vs. George Popowich": PAA 72.26, item 23c.

[58] Demjan Hohol, "The Grekul House: Narrative History Report": 175-176.

[59] In his 1931 book The Ukrainian Canadians, Charles Young bore witness to the Prairie citizenry's familiarity

with the subject of Ukrainian wedding violence by noting, "The topic is almost too well known to require elaboration here....It is an old story, but one ever new in the Ukrainian settlements." [Young, 267.]

[60] Ralph Connor, The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan (Toronto: The Westminster Company, 1909): 87-88.

[61] Ralph Connor, The Foreigner: 93-94.

[62] J.S. Woodsworth, "Foreign Immigrants and Temperance," The Christian Guardian (13 April 1910): 8.

[63] Robert England, The Central European Immigrant: 84.

[64] Charles Young, 279.

Young also remarked: "Home-brew literally flows at the weddings, as much as two or three hundred dollars being spent on the event, and the demand has already stimulated an increasing supply." [The Ukrainian Canadians: 267]

[65] George Chipman, "Winnipeg--The Melting Pot" Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature volume XXXIII (September 1909): 409.

[66] Annual Report of Superintendent T.A. Wroughton, Commander of "G" Division in RNWMP Report 1915: 95; "Nikola Kindrat and M. Wyrbitski--Murder" (PAA 83.1, old series files, item 4007).

A group of 10-12 men attacked Kutt as he was leaving a wedding feast at the farm of Mike Krysko. In the onslaught, one of the assailants dealt him a fatal blow with a club. The attack followed a quarrel about the selections of dance music played at the wedding.

[67] PAA 72.26, item 4267c; PAA 83.1, middle series files, item 2493; APP Annual Report 1922 (PAA 72.370, item 5a): 4-6; PAA 67.172, item 1599.

This case illustrates the type of bullying practised by young men at Ukrainian weddings in the pre-Depression bloc. Droniuk and Worosczuk amused themselves by slapping guests, knocking their hats off, and stealing cigarettes out of their mouths. Popowich paid the price for standing up to the two bullies by being waylaid by them on his way home from the wedding festivities.

[68] APP Annual Report 1923 (PAA 72.370, item 6a): 7-8; PAA

72.26, item 5454; PAA 83.1, middle series files, item 3592; PAA 67.172, item 1800.

[69] Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: 98, 107.

The following is a random sampling of pre-1930 Ukrainian wedding violence in east central Alberta taken from crime reports and criminal case files of the Attorney General's Department:

--"Rex vs. John Tupeczko and I. Kuzniuk, Attempted Murder," 4 June 1911 (two men brutally assault a guest at a wedding in the Soda Lake district);
--"Rex vs. George Popowich et al., Assault Causing Grievous Bodily Harm," November 28, 1922 (wedding brawl in the Sunland district);
--"Rex vs. Nick Klesiuk and Billy Motiuk," 30 February 1924, PAA 72.26, item 6268 (At a wedding in the Mundare district, a Ukrainian youth assaults another young man for dancing with a girl that he likes.);
--"Rex vs. Urisko Polichuk--Assault," Fort Saskatchewan Detachment, 9 August 1925 (wedding brawl at Radway Centre);
--"Rex vs. Wm. Slobodian et al., Assault Causing Actual Bodily Harm," 10 August 1925, PAA 72.26, item 6720 (free-for-all at a wedding in the Royal Park district);
--"Rex vs. O. Makowichuk et al., Wounding with Intent," 15 February 1925, PAA 72.26, items 6374-6377 (large-scale melee at a wedding in the Soda Lake district);
--"Rex vs. Nick and John Chomaschuk--Vagrancy," 14 August 1926 (wedding brawl in the Sunland district);
--"Rex vs. Paul Budakowsky, Common Assault," 11 August 1927 (wedding brawl in the Hilliard district);
--"Rex vs. John Garrick and Metro Bombak--Robbery with Violence," 27 July 1928 (Two Ukrainian men quarrel at a wedding celebration in the Desjarlais district. One of the disputants pulls a revolver out of his pocket and hits the other over the head with it, knocking him unconscious. The assailant and another man then beat the helpless victim and allegedly rob him of $300 which he was carrying in his pocket.).

[70] George Chipman, "Winnipeg--The Melting Pot": 115-116.

Anthropologist Samuel Koenig blamed violence in turn-of-the-century Western Ukraine on excessive drinking:

> *The Ukrainian peasant is given to much quarrel and strife, particularly when under the influence of liquor; there is rarely a drinking party, indeed, that does not end in a brawl or at least in a quarrel....A quarrel, sometimes leading to serious consequences, may be started on the slightest provocation. It usually begins with a "Usdny mene!" (kiss me somewhere), whereupon the insulted party retorts, "A huj na tebe, na twoju holowu!" (fie upon you, upon your head!), runs through all the epithets applicable to a dog, particularly a black one, and ends with curses, e.g. "May God kill you!", "May your eyes come out of their sockets!", "May dogs chase your mother!", "May you suffer agonies but never die!" The Devil (ditko), like the dog, is constantly referred to in the course of a heated controversy."* ["The Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia": 525-526].

Witnesses of the violence of Ukrainian immigrants in the United States also attributed it to the excessive consumption of alcohol. In 1904, sociologist Peter Roberts made the following comments:

> *Observers say that it is only when lager and whisky are mixed that the savage brute is aroused in the breast of the Sclav [Slav], and on these occasions brawls occur which end in bloodshed and death....Under the influence of drink they soon return to the unstable nature of their barbarous ancestors. Scenes of cruelty and horror are of frequent occurrence when the secret and suppressed side of their nature is brought out. The Sclav is irritable and easily provoked when in his cups and few feasts close without a fight....When the brute is aroused in the Sclav by a mixture of whisky and lager, he becomes more fierce than the red-toothed beast of prey.* [Peter Roberts, Anthracite Coal Communities: 40, 53, 283.]

In Our Slavic Fellow Citizens (1910), Emily Greene Balch stated that Ruthenian and other Slavic immigrants in America were "generally exceptionally peaceable and gentle" when sober, but when drunk "quite the reverse." Based on information supplied by police in Pennsylvania, Balch claimed that the arrest of a "sober 'Hunkie'" was virtually unknown in the Slavic communities of the United States. [Emily Greene Balch, Our Slavic Fellow Citizens (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1910): 367.] Balch's Our Slavic Fellow Citizens and other early-twentieth-century American writings on the "immigrant problem" had a profound influence on reformers, churchmen and scholars in Canada. Many of those who wrote about the Ukrainian-Canadian pioneers were greatly influenced by these American works--most notably, J.S. Woodsworth, J.T.M. Anderson, Robert England and Charles Young.

[71] Charles Young, 268.

Protestant missionary A.J. Hunter commented that among the Ukrainian-Canadian settlers "the worst disturbances occur at wedding festivals, when it was thought right and proper to furnish all kinds of liquor by the gallon and keg. I have heard of poor families spending over a hundred dollars on liquor for a wedding." [A.J. Hunter, "The Future of the Foreign Immigrant," Home Mission Pioneer volume VI (1909-10): 159.]

Another Protestant missionary to the Ukrainian immigrants, schoolteacher Miss A. Johnson, saw violence as the certain result of the unrestrained nature of Ukrainian wedding celebrations. She remarked:

> *Among these people a wedding is a most degenerating thing. With the extended length of festivities, the great gathering of people, men, women and children, and excessive drinking, crimes of greater and lesser degree are inevitable. Only a week ago a murder was committed. During the past summer a groom spent some months in the... hospital from being shot at his own wedding....*

Hence, Miss Johnson tried to discourage her Ukrainian students from attending any weddings in the foreign colony. [H. Johnson, "Ruthenian Pupils Note Degrading Customs," Missionary Messenger volume III (May 1916): 150.]

Immigration officer Thomas McNutt who handled many parties of Galician and Bukovinian settlers remarked: "The Ruthenians...are all more or less excitable, especially if strong liquor is obtainable, and very apt to quarrel." [John Hawkes, The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People: Volume II (Regina: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1924): 734.]

[72] APP Annual Report 1918 (PAA 72.370, item 1): 23.

Pre-Depression policemen in Alberta believed that the consumption of moonshine produced extremely violent emotions in the consumer. In fact, they commonly referred to home-brew as "fighting whisky." APP Superintendent W.C. Bryan noted that "crimes and disorders" inevitably flowed from the ingestion of "such a potent intoxicant." [APP Annual Report 1920 (PAA 72.370, item 3a): 75-76.] Bryan also observed that "a debauch" of moonshine generally brought the imbiber "to a hospital or a place of restraint." [APP Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.370, item 4a): 63.]

Bloc settler William Chornlesky noted that Ukrainian moonshine "had a kick like a mule that would send one up into cloud nine in no time." [William Chornlesky, Our Green Valley (Glenbow Archives of Alberta: Film AA): 72.]

[73] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (17 October 1989); Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (3 November 1989).

The Ukrainian practice of cutting moonshine with wine is mentioned in several sources. For instance, The Edmonton Journal reported the death of Innisfree storekeeper, Mike Pylypiuk, who died from the excessive consumption of the mixture. [Edmonton Journal, 19 February 1929.]

While drunkenness was, by far, the most common explanation given for Ukrainian-Canadian violence in the pre-Depression era, other interpretations of the problem were sometimes put forward. One of these suggested that the first wave of Ukrainian immigration carried with it a criminal element who desired either to escape prosecution in the old country or to relocate in "a pioneer land where the restraints of a more confined civilization might be lifted." Albertan historian James MacGregor even suggested that "criminally-inclined ne'er-do-wells" in Western Ukraine were forced to emigrate by priests and village authorities. According to MacGregor, "these misfits gave the great mass of self-respecting immigrants a bad name" upon their arrival in Canada. [Vilni Zemli: 162.] When immigration officer Thomas McNutt asked one Ukrainian youth to explain why so many of his countrymen "appeared in the courts on various charges up to murder," he received the answer that "very few of the criminal class came from the rural districts of Ruthenia." The youth told McNutt that almost all Ukrainian lawbreakers in Canada were miscreants from the Bukovinian city of Chernivtsi. [John Hawkes, The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People volume II (Regina: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1924): 734.]

In the early twentieth century, the police also regularly blamed serious lawbreaking in the Prairie West on scum brought in on the immigrant tide. In 1904, for instance, RNWMP Commissioner A. Bowen Perry stated, "The rapid settlement of a new country always attracts a certain lawless and undesirable element, and it is evident...that the Northwest Territories are not an exception." [NWMP Report 1903: 1.]

[74] Demjan Hohol, "The Grekul House: Narrative History Report": 175.

[75] V.S. Plaviuk, Prypovidky (Edmonton: 1946): 76-77.

[76] The term "dzhek" seems to have its origin in a habit of pre-1930 British-Canadian mine bosses and railway foremen; they disparagingly called every Ukrainian labourer "Jack." Jacob Maydanyk noted, "The foremen called them all 'Jack' as their names were too difficult to pronounce." [Halya Kuchmij dir., Laughter in My Soul, with Jacob Maydanyk (National Film Board of Canada, 1983).]

In time, the itinerant labourers took to calling themselves "dzheky" ("Jacks"). According to Vera Lysenko, the dzheky "were called 'Jacks' from their custom of calling to each other, 'Hello, Jack' (instead of Ivan, or Jacob or Vassil)." [Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947): 96.]

See also: Michael Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: 90-91. "Dolia 'Dzheka'" Ranok, 1 April 1914, p. 1; Vasyl Czumer, "Partiia ne zhurys'" in Spomyny (Edmonton: 1942): 85-86.

[77] Vera Lysenko, 95.

In 1909, Arthur Ford provided the following portrait of the Ukrainian itinerant labourers:

> *Much of the rough work of nation-building in Western Canada is being done by the despised*

> *Galician. The unskilled labour for which contractors and railway builders have been loudly calling is supplied principally by the Galician. In the cities and towns, where new works are being pushed to rapid completion, or out on the farthest stretches of the prairie, where the steel is being laid for the coming settler, can be found the grimy, stolid Galician, puffing his ever-present cigarette and working with a physical indifference to hardships that seems characteristic of the Slav.* [Arthur Ford, "Ruthenians" in Strangers Within Our Gates, ed. J.S. Woodsworth (1909; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972): 110-110.]

[78] Vasyl Czumer, "Spomyny": 83. See also: Michael Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: 88-89.

Ukrainian itinerant labourers differed from the "bidni vuiky" in age, maturity and other ways. Males between the ages of fourteen and twenty-eight predominated in the former group. The "poor uncles" averaged between thirty and forty years of age. Ukrainian itinerant workers commonly moved about in packs of up to twenty comrades. The bidni vuiky travelled back and forth between their farms and the labouring frontier solitarily or in smaller parties. [Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: 110-111.]

The bidni vuiky acknowledged the youth, boisterousness, and violent temperaments of the dzheky by commonly referring to them as "buini parubky" ("wild young men").

[79] J.S. Woodsworth, Ukrainian Rural Communities: 3.

[80] Michael Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: 90.

In the late 1920's, Robert England wrote, *"It has been found that the Slav is more willing than the Britisher to accept an extra worker into his home. He may not pay high wages but he is glad of the company and, with customary hospitality, will give shelter to one of his own race and language in return for doing "chores", as this arrangement relieves him for his much-loved leisure in winter time."* [Robert England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada: 29.]

[81] Vera Lysenko, 95.

Historian Frances Swyripa called "the Jack" a "maladjusted Ukrainian young man whose education began on the railway gang and finished in the bar and pool hall." ["From Princess Olha to Baba": 172.]

[82] Vera Lysenko, 96.

In his pioneer-era play, Boh Doliar (Mytropolyt Serafym v Kanadi), Jacob Maydanyk described the prototypical Jack as "a vulgar, coarse youth with shoulder-length hair who dressed in a dark blue suit and sported a black hat." [Humorystychnyi kaliendar Vuiko 1931: 79.]

[83] Vera Lysenko, 96.

[84] Vasyl Czumer, "Partiia ne zhurys'" in Spomyny (Edmonton: 1942): 85-86. Czumer observed that the Jacks shared a common "workingmen's culture" consisting of "drinking, partying and gambling."

[85] Vasyl Czumer, Spomyny: 85. See also, Dmytro Prokop, Spomyny Vchetelia-pionera (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1979): 19-21.

The riotous living of the dzheky was frequently satirized in the early Ukrainian-Canadian press. In articles, stories and cartoons, the Jacks were derided for drinking, gambling, brawling, blaspheming, and consorting with prostitutes. For examples, see: Kaliendar Shtifa Tabachniuk, 1918: 117-118; Humorystychnyi kaliendar veselyi druh, 1920: 78.

[86] Vasyl Czumer, Spomyny: 85.

[87] Herman Gazenvoort ed., A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies: The Letters of Willem De Gelder 1910-13 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973): 16.

A typical bunkhouse fight between Jacks in southern Alberta is described in "Crime Report re. Fred Panchyshyn, Unlawfully Causing Grievous Bodily Harm" (Coalspur Detachment, 5 April 1924). In this case, a Ukrainian miner loses money gambling, later claims it is stolen, starts a fight with another Ukrainian miner on this pretence, and ends up getting his skull fractured by a whack on the head with a coal shovel [PAA 75.126, Item 952].

For more examples of the violence of the Jacks see: "Dolia 'Dzheka'," Ranok (1 April 1914): 1; "Nick Goryk--Attempted Murder" (PAA 72.26, item 232); "Rex vs. Pete Paulenko--Murder of John Onifrychuk at Lethbridge" (PAA 72.26, item 1628); "Rex vs. Tom

Chornochan, Nick Popowich, George N. Popowich, George Popowich--Assault Causing Grievous Bodily Harm" (PAA 75.126, item 955); "John Horochuk and Vladimir Grubich--Attempted Murder" (PAA 72.370, item 11a).

[88] Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: 123.

[89] Nonetheless, as Orest Martynowych has pointed out, the Jacks did fire off their revolvers on occasion. [Ukrainians in Canada: 98.]

In 1903, NWMP Commissioner Perry summed up why the Prairie police made great efforts to discourage the carrying of pistols:

> *The police have instructions to rigorously enforce the law in this regard. The practice of carrying concealed weapons is inimical to the public peace, and dangerous to the individual. With a revolver ready to hand, what would often be only a drunken row, becomes a tragedy....No person needs to carry firearms in this country.* ["Report of Commissioner Perry," NWMP Annual Report 1903: 6]

[90] Michael Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: 89-90; Vera Lysenko: 95-97; Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984): 294.

The frontier bunkhouses and construction camps of early-twentieth-century Canada are vividly described in J. Burgon Bickersteth's The Land of the Open Doors: Being Letters From Western Canada (London: Wells Gardner, Darton and Company, 1914) and Edmund Bradwin's The Bunkhouse Man [1928] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972). Bickersteth remarked of the workers he encountered in railway camps:

> *When you see the conditions under which these men live, you could hardly be surprised if the outlook which many of them have on life is little better than a beast's. They work like horses, eat like pigs, and sleep like logs. Is it to be wondered at that after months of this they go wild when they reach the lights and glare of the city, and that the height of enjoyment is to be found in the whisky bottle?"* [Land of the Open Doors: 195.]

See also: Alfred Fitzpatrick, "Life in Lumbering and Mining Camps: A Plea for Reform," The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature volume XVII (May 1901-October 1901): 49-52; Alfred Fitzpatrick, "Outnavvying the Navvies," The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature volume XLVII (May 1916-October 1916): 21-28; Alfred Fitzpatrick, The University in Overalls: A Plea for Part Time Study (Toronto: Frontier College Press, 1923); A.R. McCormack, The Blanketstiffs (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974); Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: 109-128; Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: 292-300.

Bickersteth's contemporary, Ely Culbertson, noted that harsh living conditions in the frontier camps were particularly brutalizing for Galician and Bukovinian labourers. In the following passage, Culbertson described the "ruthless, brazen robbery of the ignorant Ukrainians" he witnessed while working on railway construction in Western Canada:

> *These naive, trustful, bearded giants worked like elephants, laughed like children, and (unfortunately for them) asked no questions. They were shamelessly exploited....the lowliest of labourers got three dollars a day, a bunk with a vermin-infested blanket and pillow, and free grub....the food was doled out in meagre rations and was barely edible. In my commissary the labourers could buy bacon, flour and canned goods of tolerable quality, but for prices that New York night clubs would be ashamed to ask. The immigrants had charge accounts, just like any millionaire, and by the time I had added up the credits for their back-breaking work, and the debits for the stuff I peddled to them, there was usually just enough left to keep them from murdering the camp boss and me....Only the ignorance of the Ukrainians made such exploitation possible.* [Ely Culbertson, The Strange Lives of One Man: An Autobiography (Toronto: The John C. Winston Company, 1940): 272-273.]

The experiences of pre-1930 Ukrainian itinerant labourers in Canada are also explored in a series of articles by Ukrainian-Canadian historian Anne Woywitka: "Strike at Waterways," Alberta Historical Review volume 20, number 4 (Autumn 1972): 1-5; "Recollections of a

Union Man," Alberta History volume 23, number 4 (Autumn 1975): 6-20; "Labouring on the Railroad," Alberta History volume 27, number 1 (Winter 1979): 25-33.

[91] James Emmott, "Policing the Rails," in The Best of Canada West, ed. M.L. Barlee (Langlee B.C.: Stagecoach Publishing, 1980): 144-47.

[92] Anne Woywitka, "Labouring on the Railroad," Alberta History volume 27, number 1 (Winter 1979): 30-31; Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: 120; Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice: 75-77; Donald Avery, "Dangerous Foreigners": 50-51, 63.

[93] An "ethnic caste system" determined what the type of job a labourer received in mining, railway and lumber companies. "Whites" (Anglo-Saxons, Celts, Scandinavians and French Canadians) got positions that paid the best and required the least physical effort. Virtually all of the supervisors in mines and frontier camps were "whites." "Foreigners" (Ukrainians, other Slavs, Italians and Orientals) got backbreaking jobs with the lowest wages. Historian Orest Martynowych noted, *"The presence of the 'foreigners' freed the 'whites,' especially the Anglo-Celts, from the most menial, dangerous and degrading tasks and permitted even the most exploited among them to take solace from the knowledge that there was always someone beneath them on the socio-economic scale."* [Ukrainians in Canada: 111, 116.]

Social reformer W.E. Givens who "bucked ties with the Galicians" on an Albertan railway gang in 1916, lamented that Anglo-Saxon railroad workers treated Ukrainian navvies as "a lower order of beings." [Alfred Fitzpatrick, "Outnavvying the Navvies": 23-24.]

Ukrainian-Canadian historian Anne Woywitka described pre-1930 relations between "white" foremen and Ukrainian navvies in frontier railway camps as follows: *"Whenever the occasion arose, which it did many times a day, the boss and his foreman never failed to hurl insults at the men. They were called "bloody Galicians", "bohunks", "stupid Russkys", and every other name as they were driven to speed up their work. No sympathy was wasted on them and they were treated more like animals than people."* [Anne Woywitka, "Strike at Waterways": 2.]

[94] For a discussion of the "divide and rule" strategy used by companies to exploit ethnic divisions in the mining industry, see: Allen Seager, "The Pass Strike of

1932," Alberta History volume 25, number 1 (Winter 1977): 2, 6-7, 10.

Seager demonstrated that the foundation of this strategy was the manipulation of "the latent nativism" of British-Canadian employees. Anglo-Saxon nativists helped to undermine worker solidarity in the mining, railway and lumbering industries by brow-beating the subordinate "foreigners." Ely Culbertson, an immigrant who participated in the construction the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, observed that Ukrainian labourers *"were held in check by the small Anglo-Saxon element present in every camp, who, being decently treated, were always ready to put down with fists, clubs, and even guns, any outbreak of the 'Bohunks.'"* [Ely Culbertson, The Strange Lives of One Man (Chicago: 1940): 273.]

Dutch immigrant and railway worker Willem De Gelder described the British Canadians in railroad construction camps as "low and mean and degenerate." Even though the wildness of the Ukrainian labourers sometimes made him uneasy, De Gelder declared, *"I would much rather associate with the Galicians than the mean, low, Englishmen; they are the nadir of degeneration, something like the characters in Tolstoy's novels."* [Herman Ganzevoort, trans. A Dutch Homesteader on the Prairies: The Letters of Willem De Gelder, 1910-1913: 16.]

[95] Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: 124-25.

[96] Vasyl Czumer, Spomyny: 85.

[97] It should be noted, however, that any admiration that "poor uncles" had for the Jacks was always mixed with fear--even on the labouring frontier. In construction camps and mining towns, the Jacks fought with other Ukrainians as much as (or more than) anyone else.

Educated and/or devout Ukrainian immigrants felt especially ill-at-ease among the dzheky who sometimes ridiculed or harassed them. Reading secular or religious books in the bunkhouse, for instance, might provoke taunts or even an assault from Jacks if they felt that the reader was putting on airs.

[98] As Orest Martynowych has noted, the wedding violence committed by hired labourers was a widespread problem in all of the Ukrainian bloc settlements in Western Canada during the early twentieth century. [Ukrainians

in Canada: 98, 107.]

[99] Vasyl Czumer, Spomyny: 85.

[100] Sylvalya Elchen, interview with John Kawyuk, a Ukrainian pioneer of the Andrew district (Andrew, Alberta, 17 November 1982).

[101] Jacob Maydanyk in Laughter in My Soul.

[102] Jacob Maydanyk in Laughter in My Soul.

[103] When a Jack did provoke the wrath of his farm boss, it was usually because he had started an affair with the farmer's wife or seduced the farmer's daughter. Of such occurrences, Charles Young noted: "It is most inevitable that a certain moral laxity should occur when men in the prime of life...add to the congestion of country homes." [The Ukrainian Canadians: 274.] Vera Lysenko commented that the Jacks "defied the customs of farming communities where they worked, broke up many families and lowered standards with their loose living." [Men in Sheepskin Coats: 97.] In February 1928, when Ukrainian farmer George Paulencu discovered that his wife was having sexual relations with his hired hand, John Wowk, he went immediately to the Andrew police post and informed Constable Reay that he wanted Wowk arrested or "he would kill him before morning." [Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 119.] Few Ukrainian settlers proved to be this restrained when they discovered that they had been made cuckolds. Marital infidelity, wife-coveting, and jealousy provoked some of the most violent incidents in the early history of Ukrainian-Canadian crime. For examples, see:

> "The Chobator Case" in Lethbridge: A Centennial History, eds. Alex Johnston and Andy A. den Otter (Lethbridge: City of Lethbridge, 1985): 100; "Harry Ewasiuk--Murder, Attempted Murder, Suicide," APP "A" Division Annual Report 1928 (PAA 72.370, item 11a): 12-13; "Martyn Halowski--Murder and Suicide," APP "A" Division Annual Report 1929 (PAA 72.370, item 12a): 5-6; "Steve Yakhnitski--Murder and Suicide," APP "A" Division Annual Report 1931 (PAA 72.370, item 14): 9; Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: 93, 105-106; Myrna Kostash, 155-156.

A high percentage of reported sex crimes in the bloc region involved farm labourers--"seduction under the promise of marriage" cases in particular. Yet, as Charles Young noted in 1931, the bloc settlers had a "comparatively good record...in reference to sex crimes." In fact, Young stated, "Not infrequently, we heard it said that they are better than the Anglo-Saxons." He added, "It is rather significant that the Ukrainians themselves regard behaviour of this sort, that is, extra-marital sex relations, as 'Americanism.'" [Charles Young, 270].

One must acknowledge, however, that it is impossible to determine the actual extent of sexual assault and sexual abuse in the early-twentieth-century Ukrainian colony. These crimes may have been more widespread than police and court records indicate, because victims and their families may have been reluctant to report these offenses to the authorities.

Prosecuting cases of sexual assault usually proved futile in pre-Depression Alberta. In 1918, the superintendent of the APP stated, "There is great difficulty in securing convictions in cases of this nature, because corroborative evidence is required and this, from the very nature of the crime, is not easily procured." [APP Annual Report 1918 (PAA 72.370, item 1): 19.]

[104] Vera Lysenko, 97.

Vasyl Czumer commented, *"Nobody had any control over these young men....They did not go to study classes or to church. In their free time they drank in hotels and on Sundays they played cards at the railway station....This class of characters among Ukrainian workingmen brought disgrace upon all Ukrainians in Western Canada. It was difficult to get through to them--to socialize them--because the majority had no parental supervision in Canada, and when they earned some money they acted freely in the full sense of that word."* [Spomyny: 85.]

In the bloc, the police had difficult in combatting the lawbreaking of the Jacks as it was relatively easy for a hired hand to quit a district after he had committed a crime. In 1925, for example, Constable Bill Reay was not able to round up hired labourer John Proseney for the assault of Harry Kolchuk because the assailant had left the threshing outfit where he had been working. ["Crime Report re. "Nick Lucar, C. Babiuk, T. Babiuk, and John Proseney--Common Assault" (Andrew Detachment, 16 September 1925).]

Occasionally, notorious Jacks provoked a major backlash in Ukrainian rural communities. In 1922, for instance, the residents of the Andrew district petitioned the Alberta government to investigate the activities of one particularly disreputable fellow--a man named Petro Feschuk. The petition declared that Feschuk "should not be allowed to live among the people of this district on account of his immorality and his mis-behaviour." [PAA 75.126, item 1122.] In 1925, the Council of the Municipal District of Eagle urged the Attorney General to deport an unnaturalized Jack for having an affair with a married woman in the Soda Lake district. The secretary-treasurer of the municipality noted how the hired man was causing the husband "extreme trouble and anxiety" and that the council had "such a belief in his moral degradation as to wish him out of the country." [PAA 75.126, item 1122.]

[105] Vera Lysenko, 97.

Historian Frances Swyripa pointed out that the Ukrainian-Canadian intelligentsia feared that the dzheky "further blackened an already unflattering group image and jeopardized Ukrainian national aspirations." Swyripa maintained that pre-1930 Ukrainian leaders blamed the excesses of the dzhekomakhiia on a combination of factors: the history of oppression suffered by Galicians and Bukovinians in the Old World, unfamiliar "Canadian freedom" which caused the Jacks to "run amuck," and the "wholesale abandonment of traditional values." [Frances Swyripa, "From Princess Olha to Baba": 177-78.]

Orest Martynowych noted that unmarried Ukrainian workers in the pre-Depression era were *"especially prone to anti-social behaviour and crime because they experienced all the hardships and deprivations of transient immigrant labourers without enjoying any of the emotional stability provided by a good marriage and permanent membership in a local community."* (The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta: 291).

[106] Jacob Maydanyk in Laughter in My Soul, dir. Halyna Kuchmiy (National Film Board of Canada, 1983).

Laughter in My Soul depicts the Jacks in a sympathetic light. The film presents the following context for understanding the excesses of the dzheky: *"There were seven men for every Ukrainian woman. They were lonely. They didn't understand English. In the winters, they were unemployed. There was no relief, no welfare.*

*They spent what little money they had, amusing themselves the best they could."*

[107] Elise Corbet, interview with Mrs. Wilma (Moisey) Bazian (Edmonton, Alberta, 20 November 1984); Vera Lysenko, 96-97; Charles Young, 268.

[108] Vera Lysenko, 96.

[109] Vera Lysenko, 97.

The corruptive influence of the criminally-inclined hired hand on the impressionable farm youth is illustrated by a number of crime reports. One example is a 1925 case from the Myrnam district: "Rex vs. Peter Pliska--Theft of Postal Notes." In this case, a Jack encouraged a Ukrainian teenager to repeatedly break into the local country store/post office. In a deposition, the teenager described the situation as follows: *"A man by the name of Steve Stelmanchuk put me up to these thefts, and told me to rob the store, and that it was easy. He gave me full directions, and also on several occasions got part of the booty, chocolates, cigarettes, etc....and some of the money from the postal notes. We were supposed to share up with him. This man is now living at Flaxcomb, Saskatchewan, working on the section."* ["Crime Report re.: Peter Pliska--Alleged Theft of Postal Notes" (Vermilion Detachment, 27 August 1925).]

Ukrainian pioneer Dmytro Prokop divided early Ukrainian settlers into two groups: 1) a majority of progressive, temperate, and church-going individuals who devoted their free time to community development; and 2) a minority of backward, shiftless heathens who occupied their leisure hours with excessive drinking, card playing and brawling. The Bulls, like their Jack idols, fit into Prokop's second category. [Dmytro Prokop, Spomyny vchetelia-pionera (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1979): 76-77.]

Like Dmytro Prokop, Ukrainian-Canadian historian Paul Yuzyk linked the disorderliness of the pioneer-era Ukrainian youth to the loss of religious values. He wrote: *"There has always been, nevertheless, a vociferous atheist element among the Ukrainian immigrants. In the days before the First World War thousands of young men drifted from place to place in search of work, and having lost contact with the church picked up evil habits and ridiculed all forms of religion. The confusing religious situation provided these so-*

*called socialists with the pretext for an attack on religion and the domination of the priests."* [Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953): 78.]

[110] Maria Adamovska, "Beginnings in Canada" in Harry Piniuta ed. Land of Pain: Land of Promise (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978): 73.

Historian John-Paul Himka suggested that, during the 1892-1914 era, the living conditions of Ukrainian pioneers in Western Canada were even more materially and culturally impoverished than those of peasants in Galicia or Bukovina. Of Canada's first-wave Ukrainian immigrants, Himka remarked:

> *Much evidence shows that these immigrants were, in fact, very traditional (primitive and backward to use more loaded language)...the initial effect of immigration to Canada was to plunge the West Ukrainian peasants into an economic situation even more backward than what they had left....In sum, the immigrant situation brought out the most traditional aspects of West Ukrainian culture rather than its more modern aspects. One might venture the hypothesis that Ukrainian immigrants to Canada were at first not only culturally more traditional/backward than most Canadians but also more traditional/backward than their contemporaries in Western Ukraine.* [J.P. Himka, "Cultural Life in the Awakening Village in Western Ukraine" in Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians, ed. Manoly Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies/Alberta Historic Sites Service, 1988): 19.]

[111] J.G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli: 136-37.

See also: Ivan Petruschevich, "Through the Eyes of a Schoolteacher" in Ukrainian Rural Communities, ed. J.S. Woodsworth: 135-138; W. Swystun, "The Shandro District" in Ukrainian Rural Communities: 77.

In 1916, one Ukrainian immigrant gave a parent's perspective on the problem of the "lost generation": *"All my children cannot read and write because at the time when we came here there were no schools. Now it is too late to send my oldest child to school, because I have no money to pay a labourer and my child must help me on the farm. I know that I do a great wrong to* *my child, but I cannot help it."* [J.S. Woodsworth ed., Ukrainian Rural Communities: 44.]

[112] Vera Lysenko, 95.

[113] Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: 208.

[114] Robert England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada: 87-88.

[115] Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba: 208.

[116] Charles Young, 281-282.

In The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History (1985), Orest Martynowych offered a similar explanation for the criminal behaviour of young men in the Ukrainian colony during the early twentieth century:

> *Efforts to assimilate immigrant children rapidly had undermined parental authority and contributed to the breakdown of traditional values and moral standards. Yet these efforts had failed to instill an appreciation and understanding of Anglo-Canadian standards. They only seem to have stimulated a strong yearning for material goods and a higher standard of living which was still beyond the grasp of most settlers. As a result some young people turned to crime in order to attain what they believed to be a socially desirable lifestyle.* [Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement: 291]

In 1929, Robert England made the following remark about the children of the Slavic immigrants: "Young men and women who come most readily and quickly into contact with 'our ways' seemingly adopt too quickly our vices rather than our virtues." To prevent this, England recommended maintaining "the authority of the parent and the unity of the family" while "the leaven of the freedom of a new country" worked in the minds of the younger generation. [The Central European Immigrant in Canada: 95, 178.]

In Canada, however, maintaining the authority exerted by parents in Western Ukraine was all but impossible. Anthropologist Kazimierz Dobrowolski noted that peasant fathers in Galicia had almost complete control over their offspring due to a variety of cultural and economic factors. He described the patriarchal family and kinship system of the peasantry as producing a "submissive attitude" in young people and an "economic and intellectual dependence upon parents." Dobrowolski explained how this dependence was maintained:

> *Closely connected with this...was the consequent high authority vested in the main characters and transmitters of traditional culture. Clearly, the most influential were the old people, whose long life and numerous contacts with people permitted them not only to accumulate the greatest amount of traditional knowledge but also to gain the richest experiences through economic and social practice. Owing to the lack of written knowledge, they inevitably constituted the main source of information on work and production, on the world and on life from which younger generations could amply draw....In these circumstances the intellectual as well as the economic superiority of the elderly was enhanced. The economic dominance resulted in the children's submission to parents and found expression in the division and the allotment of work. Food and living quarters were provided in return but no cash. Parental authority also controlled endowment at marriage, the disposal of property at death, and generally made the leaving of the parental home and migration in search of alternative work extremely difficult.* [Kazimierz Dobrowolski, "Peasant Traditional Culture" in Peasants and Peasant Societies: Selected Readings, 2nd Edition, ed. Teodor Shanin (New York: Penguin Books, 1987): 264, 269.]

In Canada, the opportunities of young people were not so limited and, consequently, they could not be so completely controlled. It was relatively easy for restless sons of Ukrainian immigrants to quit family farms and light out for the frontier camps, mining towns or cities of the Canadian West. Young women had the option of seeking jobs as domestics in Anglo-Saxon households.

Parental authority was further eroded by a loss of elders' prestige in Canada. In Ukrainian pioneer families, this loss of esteem took place suddenly and unexpectedly after homesteaders had passed through the survival and subsistence stages of farming. By the dawn of commercial agriculture in the bloc, the old-country skills, knowledge and experience of the Ukrainian father--the things which had won him the respect and admiration of his children in the old country village--counted for little. What did count were North American skills, knowledge and experiences--and these things were more rapidly assimilated by young people than by their elders. On the early-twentieth-century farmsteads of the bloc, children often instructed parents about the use of machinery, tutored them in the English language, and explained to them the workings of Anglo-Canadian society. In these and other ways, the roles of parent and child were reversed. This situation, of course, undermined the ancient patriarchal family system and frustrated many foreign-born fathers. It also had other ramifications. Canadian social reformer George Reaman regarded the loss of parental prestige as a cause of criminality among the children of the Slavic immigrants. In 1922, he commented on this predicament in his article "The Canadianization of the Foreign-born":

> *It is true that the children are taught Canadian ways of living in our schools, but what opportunity have the children for carrying them out at home? What is more, they learn English whilst their parents do not, and the children seem to move in a world apart from their parents. The result of all this is that the children tend to despise their parents and the former take on superior airs and imagine because they speak English and dress after the Canadian fashion that they are Canadians, whilst their parents are old-fashioned and count for little. This breaks up the parental influence, and our court records prove that the second generation [the first Canadian-born generation] much more frequently offends than the first generation [the foreign-born generation].*
> [George Elmore Reaman, "The Canadianization of the Foreign-Born" in The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature volume LIX (May 1922-October 1922): 446.]

[117] T.C. Byrne, 97.

[118] Michael Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: 90.

As Myrna Kostash and Frances Swyripa have noted, the harsh criticism of Ukrainian crime by the pre-Depression Ukrainian-Canadian intelligentsia was probably motivated as much by self-interest as it was by altruism. As the educated and entrepreneurial elite in Ukrainian urban and rural colonies, the intelligentsia "had the most to gain from the Anglo-Canadian establishment's conviction that Ukrainians were, after all, desirable." [Myrna Kostash, 407.] Seen in this light, the vehement denunciations of Ukrainian-Canadian lawbreaking in Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers become more comprehensible. [See also: Frances Swyripa, "Nation-Building in the 1920s" in Continuity and Change, ed. Manoly Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies/Alberta Historic Sites Service, 1988): 125-148.]

[119] Edmonton Journal, 26 April 1929.

The comments of Inspector W. Brankley in the APP Annual Report 1918 reveal that Anglo-Albertans were sometimes just as preoccupied with the criminal deviance of their own offspring during the 1915-1929 era. Brankley noted: *"The absence of many fathers at the front is responsible for this [an increase in crime], as can be seen in the increased number of boys and youths stealing automobiles, and the lessening of parental control leading to laxity in morals."* ["Report of Inspector W. Brankley," APP Annual Report 1918 (PAA 72.370, item 1).]

In 1919, APP Commissioner A. Cuddy noted that a criminal class of "young thugs" was then emerging in Alberta. [APP Annual Report 1919 (PAA 72.370, item 2): 34.]

In his annual report for 1920, Superintendent Bryan attributed an increase in crime among young men in Alberta to the following four causes: association with undesirable characters in pool halls, gambling, drugs, and the glorification of criminals in moving picture shows. [APP Annual Report 1920 (PAA 72.370, item 3a): 70-72.] In the same report, Bryan remarked, *"Parents do not supervise their children as they used to, pleasure is the aim and goal of the young men and women of today. They must have pleasure and excitement no matter how, where, or by what means they take to obtain the money to purchase it."* [APP Annual Report 1920: 72.]

[120] Kathy Warden, "Memories of 'Maintaining the Right': Three Former Mounties Recall Life in the RCMP of the Twenties

and Thirties," Herald Magazine (6 July 1973): 9.

[121] Charles Young, 268.

[122] Ivan Petruschevich, "Through the Eyes of a School Teacher" in Ukrainian Rural Communities, ed. J.S. Woodsworth: 137.

[123] See, for examples: "Crime Report re: Alex Phillipchuk--Common Assault" (PAA 75.126, item 953); PAA 72.26, item 4267c; PAA 67.172, item 1599.

[124] "Crime Report re. Paul Masurinchan--Common Assault" (Andrew Detachment, 23 January 1926).

See also: PAA 72.26, item 6720.

[125] "Crime Report re. Nick and John Chomaschuk--Vagrancy" (Andrew Detachment, 14 August 1926).

Bulls displayed the same type of behaviour in the barrooms of the bloc. For example, one 1926 crime report describes an incident where a gang of six Ukrainian youths entered the beer parlour of the Mundare Hotel "in a fighting spirit" and went "from one table to another looking for trouble." ["Crime Report re. George Slewka, Bill & Nick & George Demchuk, John Lakusta and Steve Andronuk--Vagrancy" (Andrew Detachment, 20 March 1926).]

[126] "Crime Report re: Nick Wispenskie--Vagrancy" (Andrew Detachment, Alberta, 30 July 1926).

[127] "Crime Report re. John Frunchak--Vagrancy" (Andrew Detachment, 8 February 1928).

Similar cases include: "Rex vs. Nick Pawliuk and Nick Kassian--Common Assault" (PAA 75.126, Item 953) and "Rex vs. Mike and Bill Popowich, Peter and Bill Sorochan, and Steve Shewchuk--Common Assault" (Luzan, Alberta, 23 September 1926).

[128] In a 1922 letter to the Deputy Attorney General, Smoky Lake JP Percy Sutton claimed that it was common for the "rough-living" Ukrainian bloc settlers to carry revolvers and other concealed weapons. In the letter, Sutton stated, "It is extremely dangerous to society at large that concealed weapons are being carried by this people who are illiterate, brutal and passionate beyond the average citizen." [Letter of JP Percy Sutton to the Deputy Attorney General of Alberta (Smoky Lake, Alberta, 25 March 1922): PAA 72.26, item 4317.]

There are several reports of Ukrainian youths taking revolvers to weddings and dances in the bloc during the 1915-29 era. The pistols were used for intimidation or fired for amusement. For example, in 1925, Constable Bill Reay prosecuted Ukrainian tough Bill Makaruk for attacking Alex Tkachuk on the way home from a dance at the Andrew hall. Makaruk was convicted of striking Tkachuk on the head, chasing him up the road near the Andrew school, and firing pistol shots after him. Constable Reay reported that Makaruk had a long history of beating up local youths who were on the way home from dances. Reay also noted that it "was a habit" of young men in the Ukrainian colony "to come to dances and to bring revolvers in their pockets and discharge them on the way home." ["Crime Report re. Bill Makaruk--Common Assault" (Andrew, Alberta, 17 September 1925).]

In another case, Constable Bill Reay took action in response to a rumour that a local youth, John Palasytek, was in the habit of carrying a revolver to dances and to town. When Reay next encountered Palasytek in Andrew, he searched the young man and found an old .38 calibre revolver fastened in the top of his pants. When the constable discovered that the Ukrainian lad had no permit for the gun, he charged the youth with carrying a concealed weapon. In court, JP Gregory Moisey fined Palasytek ten dollars and confiscated the revolver. [PAA 75.126, item 953.]

The courts convicted Bulls in other districts of east central Alberta for the unlawful carrying of handguns. [See, for instance, "Rex vs. William Elaschuk--Concealed Weapons" (Edwand, Alberta, 1 March 1922): PAA 72.26, item 4317.]

[129] Charles Young, 269.

In his history of the Bohdan district of east central Alberta, Martin Kenzie noted: *"Teenage gangs, fights and vandalism occurred during the twenties with damage and suffering being inflicted quite severely on some families."* [Martin Kenzie, "Crime, Moonshine and Wife Beating" in The Bohdan District (Manville, Alberta: Manville Reflections, 1979): 45.]

The following cases are a random sampling of the hell-raising activities of the of the Bulls in the pre-1930 bloc:

--"Rex vs. Tom and John Stratachuk--Assault

Causing Grievous Bodily Harm," Bellis, 2 July 1921, PAA 72.26, item 3799c (A group of Ukrainian youths drink home-brew and amuse themselves by "pushing each other off the sidewalk" in the main street of Bellis. When one of them falls in the mud and tears his clothes, he shouts, "Somebody is going to die, tonight!", and goes home to get his revolver. When he returns with the pistol, a brutal fight involving a claw bar, a two-by-four and axe handles results.);

--"Rex vs. Nick Rabanchuk et al.," PAA 83.1, middle series files, item 3770 (At a dance in the Wostok district in February 1924, four Bulls assault a Ukrainian youth with a club and a piece of iron--ostensibly because the victim was not a resident of the Wostok area.);

--"Rex vs. John Pawluk et al.--Assault Causing Actual Bodily Harm," PAA 83.1, middle file series, item 4475 (Ukrainian youths brawl with Rumanian youths at a dance in the Ispas district in May 1925.);

--"Crime Report re: Complaint of John Dikur--Alleged Malicious Mischief," Andrew Detachment, 13 July 1925 (In the Kahwin district, two youths, John Andruck and Bill Wasylyk, get drunk on moonshine liquor from a local bootlegger and damage the fences and gates of five farmers.);

--"Crime Report Re: Bill Predey and Peter Hudema--Common Assault," Mundare, 18th January 1926 (Two Bulls jump onto the passing sleigh of a Ukrainian farmer, beat those riding on the sleigh with clubs, and cause the vehicle to crash and overturn.);

--"Crime Report re: Nick Tomchuk--Vagrancy," Andrew Detachment, 13 February 1926 (A group of Ukrainian youths goes drinking and carolling on January 7th. They vandalize the property of farmers in the Luzan area and damage the farmhouse of settler Lazar Sarafinchan by drunkenly dancing upon its roof.);

--"Rex vs. George and John Macovey, and George Prestaby--Common Assault," 11 May 1926 (Three Bulls stop the horse-drawn wagon of John Slewka on a road in the Luzan district, pull Slewka off the vehicle, and give him a thorough flailing. In court, the three ruffians provide the following reason for the attack: "John Slewka was in the habit of going to dances and saying what he could do and they thought it was a good time to give him a beating.");

--In 1927, intoxicated young men brawl in the streets of Willingdon with 2x4 and 2x6 boards and all but demolish one of the buildings under construction in the new townsite [Myrtle Charuk, ed. *The History of Willingdon: 1928-1978* (St. Paul: St. Paul Journal, 1978): 115];

--"Rex vs. George Basaraba, Alex Basaraba and Paul Pidmurney--Assault Inflicting Grievous Bodily Harm," PAA 72.26, item 8117 (At a dance in the Mundare district in January 1928, three Bulls pick a fight with a Ukrainian youth and beat him with their fists and a horse shoe.);

--"Rex vs. Metro Zukiwski et al.--Assault Causing Actual Bodily Harm," 12 November 1928, PAA 83.1, middle series files, item 6490 (On the streets of Andrew, a gang of Ukrainian youths assail members of an elevator construction crew with clubs and iron pipes);

--"Rex vs. John Luciak et al.," *APP "A" Division Annual Report 1931* (PAA 72.370, item 14): 13-14 (In January 1931, Ukrainian youths from the Myrnam-Slawa district battle with Ukrainian youths from the Lake Eliza district. A variety of weapons are used in the affray--iron rods, clubs, rocks, shotguns and revolvers.).

[130] Charles Young, 269.

Veteran bloc policeman W.E. Buchanan felt that the majority of the Ukrainian settlers respected the law and the police. According to Buchanan, "It was a lawless few who caused most of the trouble." [Gerry Dunsmore, interview with W.E. Buchanan (Calgary, Alberta, 28 May 1973.)]

[131] "Crime Report re: John Pawliuk--Cattle Stealing," 3 November 1929, PAA 72.26, item 1089.

[132] PAA 72.26, item 1089.

[133] *APP "A" Division Annual Report 1931* (PAA 72.370, item 14): 12.

[134] *APP "A" Division Annual Report 1931* (PAA 72.370, item 14): 13.

[135] Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 104-106.

[136] Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 105.

[137] Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 104.

[138] Memorandum for Hon. Mr. Lymburn, Deputy Attorney General (8 October 1930) in "Criminal Case File re: Nick Pawliuk, Cattle Stealing," PAA 72.26, item 1088].

Evidently, Pawliuk not only terrorized the settlers at Andrew, but those of other bloc communities as well. For example, in June 1926, John Pawluk and three of his friends drove all the way from Two Hills, Alberta with the single-minded purpose of assaulting Nick Pawliuk. The four Bulls drove their car into the field where "the Terror" was working and gave him a beating. The assailants were arrested and brought into court where they said that Pawliuk "had assaulted them some time ago and they wanted to get square with him." The four men were each fined $5.00 for the assault. [PAA 75.126, item 953.]

[139] Letter of A.H. Gibson, barrister, to Deputy Attorney General, Fort Saskatchewan, 2 October 1930 ["Criminal Case File re: Nick Pawliuk, Cattle Stealing" (PAA 72.26, item 1088)].

[140] Charles Young observed that "young men from other districts were unwelcome at community gatherings" in the Ukrainian colony and "were often a source of trouble." [The Ukrainian Canadians, 268.] Cases such as "Rex vs. Nick Rabanchuk et al.--Assault Causing Grievous Bodily Harm" [PAA 83.1, middle series files, item 3770] support this contention.

[141] John-Paul Himka, Galician Villagers: 82; see also: Kazimierz Dobrowolski, "Peasant Traditional Culture": 294.

[142] Kazimierz Dobrowolski, 274.

[143] Kazimierz Dobrowolski, 274.

[144] Kazimierz Dobrowolski, 274.

Samuel Koenig, in his dissertation on the Ukrainians of eastern Galicia, cited W. Zawadski who recorded that large Ukrainian villages constituted "something like independent, self-contained colonies" during the late 19th and the early 20th century. Based on Zawadski's observations, Koenig remarked that it was rare for a Ukrainian peasant to marry a woman from another village during this period. [Samuel Koenig, "The Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia": 430.]

Nonetheless, anthropologist Zenon Pohorecky maintained that the villages of Western Ukraine "formed an open society which allowed one to marry almost anybody except a member of one's clan." Pohorecky asserted that "clan exogamy made the village irrelevant in the origins of a bride or groom, ruling out both village exogamy and village endogamy." [Zenon Pohorecky, "Kinship and Courtship Patterns" in Continuity and Change: 189-191.]

[145] John C. Lehr, "Kinship and Society in the Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement of the West", The Canadian Geographer, volume 29, number 3 (Fall 1985): 207-219.

[146] John C. Lehr, "Kinship and Society in the Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement of the West": 210; Radomir Bilash, "The Colonial Development of East Central Alberta and its Effect on Ukrainian Settlement to 1930" (MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983): 111-113.

[147] John Lehr, "Kinship and Society in the Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement of the Canadian West": 215-216; J.G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli: 240.

[148] Immigration officer Thomas McNutt noted, *"I found that I had to put the Bukowinians and Galicians in two separate groups as they were not friendly with each other....there was some religious difference between them which appeared to cause friction. Probably there was some obscure racial trouble as well, tracing back to the past history of these people."* [John Hawkes, The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People volume II (Regina/Chicago: The S.J. Clare Publishing Company): 731-732.]

Researcher John Lehr elaborated on this subject in an article in The Canadian Geographer:

> *The intensity of their mutual antipathy was early remarked upon by many officials of the Department of the Interior who worked with the two groups. In 1897 Commissioner William McCreary noted that the Bukovynians "do not affiliate, and, in fact, are detested by the Galicians." Considerable trouble was experienced when officials disregarded such animosities and treated the Ukrainians as a*

> *homogeneous group....The Department of the Interior rapidly learned to accommodate itself to these prejudices. Indeed, it soon became the practice to segregate the Bukovynians from the Halychyni [Galicians] even while in transit and during their stay in the Winnipeg immigration sheds.*

In the same article, Lehr observed that it was "difficult for outsiders to appreciate the intensity of feeling that was associated with the religious differences between the Orthodox Bukovynians and the Uniates [Greek Catholics] of Halychyna [Galicia]." He pointed out that, to many of the Ukrainian peasants "religion was the cornerstone of life":

> *Religious affiliation meant more than adherence to a style of worship; it carried strong national and political overtones. The Greek Catholics feared Russophile sympathies by the Orthodox who, for their part, were equally suspicious of Roman Catholic and Polish dominance of the Uniate Church. This rift was exacerbated by differences in folk culture between Halychyna and Bukovyna, and by the mental images each group had of the other.*

[John Lehr, "Kinship and Society in the Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement of the Canadian West," The Canadian Geographer volume 29, number 3 (Fall 1985): 215-216.]

[149] J.G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli: 240; John Lehr, "Kinship and Society in the Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement of the Canadian West": 214-215.

Researcher John Lehr believed that, in part, these conflicts stemmed from the "unflattering mental image" each group had of the other. Lehr stated, "To many Bukovynians, people from Halychyna [Galicia] were stereotyped as miserly and without compassion; to the latter, Bukovynians were unsophisticated, bucolic hayseeds." ["Kinship and Society in the Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement of the Canadian West": 215-216.]

[150] J.M. Lazarenko, A Voice From the Wilderness (Edmonton: Friesen Printers, 1987): 37.

John Lehr remarked that the farther two groups of Ukrainian immigrants had lived apart in the old country, the greater the chance that hostilities would develop between them in the new land. For instance, on the settlement frontier in east central Alberta, a group of Galician pioneers who had lived along the Galician-Bukovinian border in Ukraine would sometimes get along better with a group of Bukovinian immigrants from the same general vicinity than with another group of settlers from a more distant and unfamiliar part of Galicia. ["Kinship and Society in the Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement of the Canadian West": 216.]

[151] See, for examples: "Crime Report re. Mike and Bill Popowich, Peter and Bill Sorochan, and Steve Shewchuk"--Common Assault" (Luzan, Alberta, 23 September 1926) and "Rex vs. O. Makowichuk et al" [PAA 72.26, items 6374-6376].

[152] Wasyl Swystun, "The Old and the New" in Ukrainian Rural Communities, ed. J.S. Woodsworth: 120.

Ukrainian pioneer William Chornlesky noted of nuptial feasts in east central Alberta: *"Ukrainian weddings could be as small as consisting of ten guests, or as large as to entertain six hundred. The people in the immediate neighbourhood raised their eyebrows if they were not invited, regardless of whether the bride's or groom's parents were wealthy or not."* [William Chornlesky, Our Green Valley: 61.]

When settlers chose not to invite local troublemakers to wedding celebrations and parties, the bypassed roughnecks often showed up anyway. In such cases, the appearance of the ruffian(s) frequently led to a row. [See, for examples: "Crime Report regarding Walter Prus--Assault," 27 July 1927, PAA 75.126, item 957; Charles Young, 276.]

[153] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

Buchanan's observation is substantiated by cases such as "Rex vs. Typeczko and Kuzniuk." This case--an aggravated assault committed by two Ukrainian immigrants in 1911--is described in the following police report:

> *They assaulted and very severely handled one J.J. Dobbin of Vegreville, while attending a wedding at a Russian [Ukrainian] settlement near Hairy Hill, Alta.. It appears that Typeczko had a quarrel with Dobbin some time prior to the assault, over a threshing outfit, and bore a grievance against him. Some of the guests at the wedding appear to*

> *have been more or less intoxicated, and Tupeczko took this opportunity of righting his alleged wrongs. He persuaded Kuzniuk to strike Dobbin over the head with a stone, while Tupeczko unmercifully kicked the injured man after he had collapsed on the ground.* [RNWMP Report 1912: 24; see also: "John Tupeczko and I. Kuzniuk--Attempted Murder" (PAA 83.1, old series files, item 2172.]

In the 1925 case "Rex vs. John Bohaychuk et al.," Harry Tanasychuk stated that the eight Ukrainian men who had assaulted him at a wedding in the Royal Park district all had grudges against him because of controversial business deals. When the defense attorney asked Tanasychuk if the eight men had any reason to beat him up, Tanasychuk responded, "Yes...some...for some cattle, and some for a threshing machine; they had something against me...and about some horses." Before the assault took place, assailant John Bohaychuk told John Shpak, the wedding host, that Tanasychuk should not have been allowed to come to the wedding and that there was going to be trouble because of Tanasychuk's attendance. [PAA 72.26, item 6720.]

The custom of the "open invitation" may not have been the only practice that encouraged violence at pre-1930 Ukrainian-Canadian nuptial celebrations. Another wedding tradition, the "confrontation at the gate," may also have been a contributing factor to festive fighting. Ukrainian anthropologist Zenon Kuzela described this custom as follows:

> *The [groom's] train meets a barrier...before the house of the bride, which is guarded by young men with raised sticks. Only after a "fight" (bii) and long negotiations do they allow the groom to enter the house, but even then he must overcome the resistance of the brothers of the bride and pay an appropriate ransom to obtain the right to sit beside her, remove her headdress, and kiss her."* [Z. Kuzela, "Folk Customs and Rites Related to Family Life" in Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia volume I, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovycz (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963): 337.]

Ukrainian-Canadian researcher, Demjan Hohol, suggested that the "confrontation at the gate" contributed to violent arguments at pre-1930 weddings in east central Alberta:

> *One portion of the Ukrainian wedding tradition which lent itself most readily to violence was the traditional confrontation between families at the gate. Occasionally, the father or relatives of the "moloda" (bride) would refuse to allow the "molodyi" (groom) and his wedding party to enter the yard. Or, they sometimes refused to allow the molodyi to leave the yard as he tried to take his moloda with him to her new home. In either case, the situation had the potential to end tragically....* [Demjan Hohol, "The Grekul House: Narrative History Report": 175-176.]

Not all sources, however, see the ritual confrontation as a cause of Ukrainian wedding brawling. In their study of the peasant culture in the Carpathian Mountains of Western Ukraine, J.B. Heisler and J.E. Mellon noted that the "scuffle in front of the bride's house" in the Ukrainian wedding ritual was "merely symbolic." They maintained that this "mock battle" between the bridegroom's party and the bride's male relations was a "merry encounter" in which "some friendly punches" were exchanged, but no real punches. According to Heisler and Mellon, the ritual conflict was not meant to disturb the wedding as "a friendly affair." Instead, the scholars attributed the fighting between young men at weddings and other gatherings to courtship rivalries:

> *Carpathian young men hit very hard when a real fight is on; and this happens fairly often, particularly when a lad from another village is wooing a local maiden. Such rivalry usually leads to a grim battle in which somebody might get killed. If the culprit is sent to prison for manslaughter, he is not disgraced in his village, and his sweetheart usually waits for him until he has served his term.* [J.B Heisler and J.E. Mellon, Under the Carpathians 2nd edition (London: The Travel Book Club, 1949): 58.]

Ukrainian-Canadian pioneer memoirs also attribute a significant number of brawls at pre-1930 social gatherings in the bloc to conflicts between suitors. For example, the community history of Smoky Lake noted of these events: "When the boys got high, they used their energy fighting over some girl." [Smoky Lake and District Cultural Heritage Society, Our Legacy: History of Smoky Lake and Area: 35.]

There has been some speculation that a relative scarcity of young single women in Ukrainian-Canadian urban and rural colonies may have heightened tensions between Ukrainian bachelors during the pioneer era. This scarcity, however, was much more acute in the former communities than in the latter. This fact may serve to explain why wedding feasts in the Ukrainian quarters of Prairie cities had an even more notorious reputation for violence than celebrations in Ukrainian rural communities.

Yet another Ukrainian tradition which may have contributed to fighting at weddings was the practice of "selling the bride." Mary Kruk, an emigrant from Galicia who settled in east central Alberta during the early twentieth century, described this custom as follows:

> *There was a custom that someone, maybe a family member or a friend would "sell" the bride. It just meant that a man or boy would be allowed to sit next to the bride during the wedding. This could and would develop into arguments if there was enough to drink.*

On occasion, "selling the groom" was also practised by the Ukrainians, but this custom does not seem to have resulted in the fights which accompanied the selling of the bride. [Zonia Lazarowich, "A Lifetime of Change: Reminiscences of Mary Kruk": 110.]

Finally, the prolonged duration and cramped conditions of Ukrainian-Canadian weddings may have contributed to outbreaks of disorder. In the pre-Depression bloc, most nuptial feasts took place in farmhouses--not in community halls. These celebrations commonly lasted for three or more days. Guests would pack the home day and night for as long as the festivities lasted. Usually dozens (or even hundreds) of people showed up to celebrate. While some guests would go home to sleep, many others bedded down each night at the farm of the host. People would sleep all over his house, in his barn and outbuildings, and under wagons in his farmyard. In most cases, it was necessary for the guests to eat and sleep in shifts, so that all persons could be accommodated. Pioneer accounts testify to the fact that the congestion of the Ukrainian rural wedding could become irritating--especially by the third or subsequent day of partying. Sparks of irritation would sometimes explode into fights and brawls--particularly when fuelled by prodigious quantities of alcohol. One Ukrainian-Canadian settler, Mary Kruk, remarked, "The weddings lasted far too long in my opinion." [See: Zonia Lazarowich, "A Lifetime of Change: Reminiscences of Mary Kruk": 109; Andrij Nahachewsky, "First Existence Folk Dance Forms Among Ukrainians in Smoky Lake, Alberta": 41-53; Charles Young, 279.]

[154] Marvin E. Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti, The Subculture of Violence: Towards an Integrated Theory in Criminology (London: Tavistock Publications, 1967).

[155] Marvin Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti, 154, 161, 267.

[156] Marvin Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti, 155, 188-89.

[157] Marvin Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti, 156, 161, 188-89, 314.

[158] Marvin Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti, 159, 314.

[159] Marvin Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti, 258-260, 305- 306.

The subculture of violence thesis offers interpretations for many facets of the Jack and Bull phenomenons. It asserts that a high rate of violent crime among young men in the subculture is often based on "notions of machismo" and the equating of "maleness with overt physical aggression." These concepts may be usefully applied in the examination of both Ukrainian groups. According to Wolfgang and Ferracuti, young males in the subculture of violence usually hold "physical roughness and toughness" as ideal qualities of manhood. During the 1915-1929 period, the Jacks and the Bulls seem to have viewed "broad shoulders and fighting fists" as prized symbols of an important cultural theme of "male assertiveness." Both groups also appear to have viewed "ready resort to violence as an expected form of masculine response" in certain situations--and, sometimes, as "not only an acceptable but admired behaviour."

[160] Marvin Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti, 158-59, 298, 314.

Wolfgang and Ferracuti proposed that "the normative system" of the subculture of violence "designates that in some types of social interaction a violent and physically aggressive response is either expected or required of all members sharing in the system of values." They explained that, in specific situations, the "persons living in a subcultural milieu designated as a subculture of violence" will have a tendency to "to participate in violence, to expect violence, and to be ready for its retaliation." Wolfgang and Ferracuti noted that the members of the subculture of violence will tend to keep weapons or weapon-like objects at the ready in what they understand to be a potentially-explosive situation. They do this to protect themselves against other members of the subculture who have displayed a tendency for aggression in similar situations in the past.

The subculture of violence thesis serves to explain why young men went to Ukrainian weddings in the pre-Depression bloc with items such as iron bars and cudgels in their pockets. It also sheds light on the mystery of how, when assailed in the midst of a festive celebration, bloc settlers could instantaneously produce bulkier weapons such as neck yokes to defend themselves.

[161] Charles Young, 276.

In 1931, Bukovinian businessmen Peter Svarich made the following comment about the Ukrainians in east central Alberta: *"If they do fight, assault or murder anyone it would be their own countrymen, as they have a great respect for the English or any other people and will very seldom harm them."* [Peter Svarich, "Ukrainians and Their Progress in the West during Thirty Years," Vegreville Observer (18 March 1931): 13.]

[162] J.S. Woodsworth, "Foreign Immigrants and Temperance," The Christian Guardian (13 April 1910): 8. See also: Myrna Kostash, 155-156, James Gray, Booze: 44.

In the early twentieth century, Prairie newspapers usually described Ukrainian assaults and brawls like "low comedies." Historian James Gray observed that the Western Canadian press typically played stories of "Galician" brawling "for laughs" because the fighting involved only Galicians and Galicians were regarded as "non-persons." [Booze: 44.] The following two items exemplify this type of reporting:

> *Galician weddings, with their usual accompaniments of free fights and other disturbing incidents again furnished most of the interest at the morning session of the police court today. Fred Wiezaryk, a tall and lathy young man with many of the outward signs of the unsuccessful artist was charged with assault by John Onufryczuk. The complainant, with ample facial abrasions to bear out his story, claimed that he had been rudely jostled during the wedding dance, and on mildly remonstrating with Wiesaryk, had received a regular Jack Johnson uppercut, which took effect on his eye. Lena Smith deposed that she had been*

> *dancing quietly when the accused up and hit "my fellow." Wiezaryk, with a flow of language that rivalled his artistic neckgear, tried to show that he had been amply justified, but he was cut short with $5 and costs or ten days.*
>
> *Several Galicians rounded up over the week-end for being drunk and disorderly were fined $3 each. A court observer who tried to pronounce their names put his jaw out of joint.*

Myrna Kostash noted that the reporter of police and court news for the Vegreville Observer was "amused by the image of Ukrainian-Canadians turning on each other." Of the Prairie press in general, Kostash remarked, *"The newspapers were full of items that supported the prevailing notion that Ukrainians were 'naturally' a violent people. A violence, let it be noted, that they exercised on each other."* [All of Baba's Children: 155-56].

[163] Janey Canuck [Emily Murphy], "Communing with Ruthenians," Canadian Magazine volume 40, number 5 (March 1913): 405-406.

[164] James Gray decried the distorted coverage of crime in Anglo-Canadian newspapers during the pre-1930 era. In Booze, Gray maintained that the Prairie press unfairly highlighted Ukrainian crimes and emphasized the ethnicity of Ukrainian criminals:

> *It was the accepted custom of the newspapers to identify nationalities in all reports of unfavourable circumstances. On the other hand, on heroic occasions the British nationality of the heroes was brought suitably to the fore.*

Gray remarked that "special emphasis was always placed on the illegal activities of 'the foreigners'" in the newspapers of the West. The historian noted a particular bias of the press in the coverage of violations of the liquor laws. He noted that "most of the stories about illegal stills dotting the countryside were ethnically slanted" and that headlines accompanying the stories (for example, "Mounties raid Galician still") unfairly linked Ukrainian nationality with criminality. [James Gray, Booze: 45, 91-92; see also: James Gray, The Roar of the Twenties: 251.]

Ukrainian Canadians have offered similar complaints about the fairness of the reporting of Ukrainian crimes in the early-twentieth-century Canadian press. [See: Jars Balan, Salt and Braided Bread: Ukrainian Life in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1984): 78-79; Vasyl Czumer, Spomyny: 85-86; Myrna Kostash, 155-156; Halyna Kuchmiy dir., Laughter in My Soul (National Film Board of Canada, 1983); Dmytro Prokop, Spomyny vchetelia-pionera: 77.]

Orest Martynowych has mentioned many of the more bizarre crimes of the Ukrainian pioneers in his explorations of early Ukrainian Canadian history. For example, in Ukrainians in Canada, he cited the 1913 case where a Ukrainian miner murdered another for "profaning the Lord's Day." The outlandish motives and unusual executions of many Ukrainian acts of violence made them prime subjects for the sensationalistic press of the 1892-1929 era. [See: Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: 123-124; Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement: 292-293.]

Nearly every Ukrainian murder case from the early-twentieth-century bloc had exceptionally weird or macabre particulars. For instance, the Yakhnitski homicide in the Vegreville district involved not only a victim who had her skull cloven with an axe but also a killer who committed suicide by burying himself in a straw stack and setting it ablaze [Vegreville Observer (18 March 1931): 2; "Steve Yakhnitski--Murder and Suicide," APP "A" Division Annual Report 1931 (PAA 72.370, item 14): 9]. In another case of murder, Ukrainian farmer Harry Ewasiuk shot the wife of his neighbour John Hrushka, decapitated her, tossed her severed head into the bush for the coyotes to gnaw, and then killed himself. During the investigation of this crime, the police discovered that Mrs. Hruska and Ewasiuk had been longtime lovers and that five of her nine children had been fathered by the man. ["Harry Ewasiuk--Murder, Attempted Murder and Suicide," APP Annual Report 1928 (PAA 72.370, item 11a): 13-14; APP "A" Division Annual Report 1928 (PAA 72.370, item 11a): 12-13.] In the 1921 case, "Rex vs. Sam Kachur--Murder," a 74-year-old farmer in the Chipman district was shot, dismembered with an axe, and burned. [APP Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.370, item 4a): 11-12.] The reports of the RNWMP and APP commonly introduced Ukrainian crimes of violence with statements such as "This is one of the worst crimes in the annals of Alberta" or "This is one of the most brutal crimes ever committed in the West." Alberta's newspapers made similar statements in their coverage of these cases.

The reputation of the Slavic settlers was not helped by the fact that the Prairie press often made violent crimes from the bloc appear worse in print than they were in reality. Newspapers embellished accounts of these crimes--even the most grisly ones--in the apparent attempt to arouse even more horror in their readerships and, as a result, sell more papers. For example, in its account of an axe murder committed by Galician immigrant Harry Zbyhley in the Mundare district in 1909, the Vegreville Observer was not content with relating the actual details of the crime. It reported the untruth that, after slaying his spouse, the seventy-year-old Zbyhley had castrated himself with a knife in an attempt to commit suicide. The newspaper featured this fabrication in the bold headline which accompanied its front-page coverage of the "Inhuman Crime." [Vegreville Observer, (15 September 1909): 1; PAA 83.1, old series files, item 2172.]

[165] Charles Young, 264-265.

[166] Ralph Connor, 216, 218.

[167] Ralph Connor, 218.

[168] W.O. Mitchell, "Going to a Fire" in According to Jake and the Kid: A Collection of New Stories (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989): 182.

[169] Vivian Olender, "The Canadian Methodist Church and the Gospel of Assimilation, 1900-1925," Journal of Ukrainian Studies volume 7, number 2 (Fall 1982): 66-68.

## CHAPTER THREE--"The Dynamics of Law Enforcement in the Bloc Environment"

[1] Annual Report of C. Constantine, Commander of "G" Division, Fort Saskatchewan, 1 December 1901, NWMP Report 1901: 46.

[2] J.T.M Anderson, The Education of the New-Canadian (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1918): 107.

[3] Letter of the Alberta Attorney General to R.W. McPherson Esq. (Edmonton, Alberta, 11 January 1921): PAA 83.192, item 580/581.

[4] Robert England, The Central European Immigrant: 181.

[5] APP Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.370, item 4a): 76.

[6] Zonia Keywan: 110-111.

[7] APP Annual Report 1919 (PAA 72.370, item 2): 14-15.

In 1910, Superintendent A. Ross Cuthbert of the RNWMP's "G" Division related one case of Ukrainian uncooperativeness to superstition:

> *Henry Zebhley [Zbyhley], A Galician settler of advanced age, brutally murdered his wife on September 13 last. His trial took place on October 19; he was found guilty, sentenced to death and executed on December 21. A peculiar feature of this case is the fact that in subsequent criminal investigation among Galicians were found it even more difficult than usual to obtain information from them as it was claimed by some of them that the absence of badly needed rain was due to the execution of Zebhley, and if any more persons were punished the further consequences would be disastrous.* [Annual Report of Superintendent A.R. Cuthbert, Commander of 'G' Division (Edmonton, Alberta, 30 September 1910) in RNWMP Report 1910: 75.]

[8] Evidently, this was a trend even in districts outside of the bloc settlement. For instance, Superintendent J.O. Wilson (the officer commanding the RNWMP's "K" Division) reported that the authorities could make no headway in the Ukrainian case "Rex vs. Mike Slemco

[Slemko]--Attempted Murder" because of the inconsistent testimonies given by Ukrainian witnesses. Wilson remarked, "The evidence in this case was contradictory, as is usual in Galician cases...." [Annual Report of Supt. J.O. Wilson of "K" Division (Lethbridge, Alberta, 1 October 1914) in RNWMP Report 1914: 31.]

[9] Annual Report of Superintendent A.R. Cuthbert, RNWMP Report 1912: 74-75.

[10] Annual Report of Superintendent A.R. Cuthbert, Annual RNWMP Report 1912: 74-75.

[11] Howard Angus Kennedy, New Canada and the New Canadians: 223.

In a letter written in 1929, the Acting Commissioner of the APP noted that the force lacked "very good facilities for training," did not provide much instruction and, consequently, preferred "to take on ex-policemen with experience." [PAA 75.126, item 4525.]

[12] Elise Corbet, interview with Frank Rodberg, a veteran of the APP (Edmonton, Alberta, 29 August 1984).

In 1918, the APP Commissioner mentioned this lack of supervision in his annual report. He stated, "It is impossible for an Inspector in this force to leave his headquarters to go on inspection trips monthly, owing to the mass of clerical work he has to attend to in his office." [APP Annual Report 1918 (PAA 72.370, item 1): 45.

[13] Elise Corbet, interview with Frank Rodberg (Edmonton, Alberta, 29 August 1984); Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 27.

[14] "Report of Inspector D.G. Fisher," APP Annual Report 1918 (PAA 72.370, item 1): appendix "A", page 2.

[15] APP Annual Report 1918 (PAA 72.370, item 1): 2.

[16] APP Annual Report 1918 (PAA 72.370, item 1): 2.

[17] Elise Corbet, interview with Dennis Mighall, a veteran of the APP (Edmonton, Alberta, 30 August 1984); Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 27.

[18] T.C. Byrne, 40.

[19] Kathy Warden, "Memories of 'Maintaining the Right': Three Former Mounties Recall Life in the RCMP of the Twenties and Thirties": 9.

[20] Elise Corbet, interview with Dennis Mighall (Edmonton, Alberta, 30 August 1984).

[21] Gerry Dunsmore, interview with W.E. Buchanan (Calgary, Alberta, 28 May 1973).

A few Anglo-Saxon justices of the peace in east central Alberta followed the example of Percy Sutton and learned a bit of the Ukrainian language. For example, JP Robert Stewart of Andrew married a Ukrainian woman, Mary Moisey, and apparently learned to make himself understood in the Slavic tongue. Most British-Canadian justices, however, (Charles Lawford of Pakan, for instance) refused to pick up even a few words in Ukrainian. [Andrew Historical Society, Dreams and Destinies: Andrew and District (Edmonton: Friesen Printers, 1980), p. 541-543; Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 42; Les Hurt, "The Victoria Settlement": 50.]

[22] Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 27.

[23] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

[24] Elise Corbet, interview with Dennis Mighall (Edmonton, Alberta, 30 August 1984); Sylvalya Elchen, interview with John Kawyuk, a resident of the Andrew district during the 1915-1929 era (Andrew, Alberta, 17 November 1982).

[25] Elise Corbet, interview with Mrs. Wilma (Moisey) Bazian, (Edmonton, Alberta, 20 November 1984); Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 73; Elise Corbet, interview with Dennis Mighall (Edmonton, Alberta, 30 August 1984); Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989; "Crime Report re: John Nemirsky--Vagrancy by Fighting" (Andrew Detachment, 1 October 1925).

Ukrainian pioneer John Kawyuk commented that Constable Reay of Andrew "kept his eyes open" at weddings and dances and "could stop trouble before it started." [Sylvalya Elchen, interview with John Kawyuk (Andrew, Alberta, 17 November 1982).]

[26] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989); Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 3 November 1989).

Ted Buchanan noted that once a detachment man had developed a rapport with the bloc settlers at community events, they began to approach him at his police office for practical advice and assistance on a variety of matters--ranging from business to veterinary medicine. Buchanan commented that once other Ukrainians found out that a detachment man was actually "helping somebody 'with some little problems,' they would come and try too." The police veteran recalled this type of service as an excellent way for a lawman to build community support in the foreign colony.

Constable Cliff Gair, however, noted that helping out the bloc settlers "with their little problems" could get out of hand. For example, after Gair had successfully delivered a Ukrainian baby in an emergency situation, expectant fathers in the Slavic community began to approach him for the same service. Gair remarked of the first supplicant, "He said the doctor charged too much and he'd heard I'd done it for free. He thought I'd do as good a job." [Kathy Warden, "Memories of 'Maintaining the Right': Three Former Mounties Recall Life in the RCMP of the Twenties and Thirties": 9.]

[27] Elise Corbet, interview with John Moisey, son of Andrew JP Gregory Moisey (Edmonton, 23 September 1984); Elise Corbet, interview with Kay (Marianycz) Anderson (Edmonton, Alberta, 27 November 1984).

[28] Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 32.

[29] Elise Corbet and Tania Yakimowich, interview with George Morie, resident of the Andrew district during the 1915-1929 era (Andrew, Alberta, 22 September 1984); Sylvalya Elchen, interview with John Kawyuk (Andrew, Alberta, 17 November 1982); Elise Corbet, interview with Alex Skoreiko, resident of the Andrew district during the 1915-1929 era (Vegreville, Alberta, 25 October 1984).

[30] William Chahley, "Mr. and Mrs. Kost Chahley" in Our Legacy: History of Smoky Lake and Area: 351.

[31] William Chahley, "Mr. and Mrs. Kost Chahley": 352.

In the 1940's, years after Buchanan had left the Smoky

Lake detachment, William Chahley joined the RCMP and had the Scotsman for a supervisor. Chahley remarked that Buchanan was "an excellent officer" under whom he considered it a "privilege to serve."

[32] Elise Corbet, interview with Dennis Mighall (Edmonton, Alberta, 30 August 1984).

[33] Kathy Warden, "Memories of 'Maintaining the Right': Three Former Mounties Recall Life in the RCMP of the Twenties and Thirties": 9.

[34] Gerry Dunsmore, interview with W.E. Buchanan (Calgary, Alberta, 28 May 1973).

[35] This change in attitude, however, led to new criticisms. In 1924, for example, one resident of Bellis made the following complaint about the local JPs in a letter to the Attorney General: *"Laying a charge at Bellis is a waste of time as the Justices of the Peace we have in this town are business people and would favour their customers sooner than their opposition."* [PAA 83.192, item 597.]

In 1919 and 1920, the APP Commissioner plainly stated that Alberta's rural JPs tended to put their personal pecuniary interests ahead of the responsibilities of their office. [APP Annual Report 1919 (PAA 72.370, item 2): 51-52; APP Annual Report 1920 (PAA 72.370, item 3a): 70.]

[36] John Moisey, the son of JP Gregory Moisey, made the following comment about Constable Bill Reay's relationship with the Ukrainian settlers in the Andrew district: *"Reay knew enough to bring these people around gradually. If he had gone in and thrown his weight around he would have been in trouble. He had a knack of peace-making. If someone came in with a complaint, he sometimes told the person to think it over."* [Elise Corbet, interview with John Moisey (Andrew, Alberta, 23 September 1984).]

[37] Elise Corbet, interview with John Moisey (Andrew, Alberta, 23 September 1984).

[38] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 3 November 1989).

Ted Buchanan also remarked: *"A lot of people liked their beer maybe a little too much and got drunk and the bartender had to ease them out [of the hotel beer parlour] when they were causing a little trouble--and* *knowing the person, you knew darned well that the fine would be inflicting punishment on the family--so I'd lock him up and then about 5 o'clock in the morning give him a wash and get him some breakfast and tell him to get the hell home. I'd say, 'Don't come back in town for a month!'...They appreciated that."*

APP Constable Cliff Gair displayed a similar leniency with Ukrainian settlers in the Vegreville and Two Hills districts. For example, Gair "occasionally turned his back" on the illegal buying or selling of wild game if he knew that the Slavic offender was an indigent. [Kathy Warden, "Memories of 'Maintaining the Right'": 9.]

[39] "Monthly Conviction Returns, Inland Revenue Act Cases" (PAA 75.126, item 821).

In his popular history of Alberta's Prohibition era, Frank Anderson stated that bootlegging in east central Alberta was a "relatively minor evil" in comparison to bootlegging in southern Alberta. [The Rum Runners (Calgary: Frontier Books, n.d.): 43.] Anderson suggested that the Crowsnest Pass was the region of the province where the illicit liquor traffic caused the police the most trouble.

Of the Crowsnest Pass, historian James Gray remarked, "A respectable body of legend has grown up around this area and stories of gun battles between police and rum-runners, and rum-runners and hijackers abound." [Booze: 105.]

More than anything else, however, it was the 1922 murder of Constable Lawson (by Italian bootleggers Emilio Picariello and Florence Lassandro) which gave the Crowsnest Pass its preeminent reputation as the hub of Albertan moonshining and bootlegging in the 1915-1929 era. [See: "Emilio Picariello and Florence Lassandro--Murder of Constable S. Lawson": PAA 72.26, item 4712; APP Annual Report 1923 (PAA 72.370, item 6a): 4-5.] I submit that if Ukrainian moonshiner Hnat Mikitka had killed Constable Bill Buchanan (in the gun fight which took place in 1927 during a police raid on the Ukrainian's still near Spedden, Alberta)--instead of just winging the policeman--the bloc may have equalled or surpassed the Crowsnest Pass in notoriety as a hotbed of pre-Depression moonshining. [See: "Rex vs. Hnat Mikitka--Attempted Murder" (PAA 72.26, item 8055).]

Interestingly, the annual reports of the Alberta

Provincial Police downplayed the reputation of the Pass as a centre of bootlegging and crime. For instance, in his 1920 report, APP Superintendent W.C. Bryan defended "this very much-maligned district" with the following statement: "The conditions in the Pass towns were no worse than in any other district, there is a large foreign population there, principally miners, but they are not the bad lot the papers picture them to be, and I know something of the Crow's Nest Pass." [APP Annual Report 1920 (PAA 72.370, item 3a): 86.] In the same report, Bryan quoted from a letter written by H.H. Hull, Secretary of the Crowsnest Pass Social Science League, who suggested that newspaper reports of moonshining and rum-running in the Pass were grossly exaggerated. In the letter, Hull noted, "Conditions in the Crow's Nest Pass have been commented on by a great many people who have only come in touch with the Crow's Nest Pass at a long distance." [APP Annual Report 1920: 69.]

Policemen claimed that other communities in Alberta were afloat in home-brew in the pre-1930 era. For example, in November 1926, in a letter to the APP Commissioner, Constable King of the Jenner detachment claimed that the French-Canadian hamlets of Cluny and Glaraneauville were the centres of large moonshine-making and moonshine-peddling networks. King added that the nearby community of Hussar was a "Monte Carlo" of all-day/all-night unlawful drinking and illegal gambling. [PAA 75.126, item 4583.] Historian Frank Anderson claimed that "there were bootleggers and stills in every city, town, and village in the province" during Prohibition and identified Calgary, Edmonton, St. Albert, Acme, and Water Valley as communities with large-scale bootlegging operations. [The Rum Runners: 18, 25-28, 44.]

[40] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

Bill Buchanan also mentioned this incident in a 1973 interview and in an article published in the community history of Smoky Lake. [Gerry Dunsmore, interview with W.E. Buchanan (Calgary, Alberta, 28 May 1973); W.E. Buchanan, "Smoky Lake Detachment 1920" in Our Legacy, History of Smoky Lake and Area (Winnipeg: Inter-Collegiate Press of Canada/Smoky Lake and District Cultural and Heritage Society, 1983): 11.]

[41] Frank W. Anderson, The Rum Runners: 36.

The annual report of the APP for 1919 noted that the provincial police force seized 134 stills during that year. [APP Annual Report 1919 (PAA 72.370, item 2): 32.]

[42] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

Charles Young remarked that moonshining and bootlegging were "almost universal" in the Ukrainian bloc settlements of Western Canada during the 1915-1929 era. Young quoted Anglo-Saxon residents of Ukrainian districts who had claimed that Ukrainians were "kings in the brewing industry" and that the "social activities" of the Slavs consisted almost exclusively of "dancing, bootlegging and baseball." [The Ukrainian Canadians: 267-268.]

[43] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

[44] See, for example, Charles Young, 278-279; James Gray, Booze: 45, 104; Stella Hryniuk, "The Peasant and Alcohol in Eastern Galicia in the Late-19th Century: A Note," Journal of Ukrainian Studies volume 11, number 1 (Summer 1986): 80-81.

[45] James Gray, Booze: 45.

[46] Charles Young, 278-279.

[47] James Gray, Booze: 104.

[48] See, for example: Stella Hryniuk, "The Peasant and Alcohol": 80-81.

[49] Stella Hryniuk, "A Peasant Society in Transition: Ukrainian Peasants in Five East Galician Counties, 1880-1900" (PhD Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1984): 396-399, 410; Stella Hryniuk, "The Peasant and Alcohol": 75-85.

Ukrainian peasants were apparently permitted to make some homemade ciders and wines, but these relatively unpopular alcoholic beverages were not lucratively salable in late-nineteenth-century Galicia and Bukovina.

[50] Stella Hryniuk, "A Peasant Society in Transition: Ukrainian Peasants in Five East Galician Counties, 1880-1900": 392; J. Skwarok, The Ukrainian Settlers and Their Schools (Edmonton: 1958): 5-6.

[51] J. Skwarok, 5-6; Stella Hryniuk, "A Peasant Society in Transition": 392-393.

[52] Stella Hryniuk suggested that the vodka kept in the homes of late-nineteenth-century Galician peasants might have been home-brew, but presented no evidence to support this opinion. ["The Peasant and Alcohol": 80-81]. Because Ukrainian peasants could and did buy vodka from taverns and "off-license" retailers to take home, it seems almost certain that the liquor kept in their houses was not moonshine. [See: V. Hawrysh's *Moia Kanada i ia: spohady i rozpovidi pro ukrainskykh pioneriv u Kanadi* [(Edmonton, Alberta: 1974): 22; Stella Hryniuk, "A Peasant Society in Transition": 408-409.]

One cannot assume, as many scholars have done, that widespread moonshining among Ukrainian immigrants in Canada could only have stemmed from moonshining among Ukrainian peasants in the old country.

[53] Matthew Stachiw and Jaroslaw Sztendera, *Western Ukraine at the Turning Point of Europe's History* (New York: The Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1969): 57-58; Stella Hryniuk, "The Peasant and Alcohol": 75-76.

[54] Stella Hryniuk, "The Peasant and Alcohol": 78.

[55] For a general history of moonshining, see: Esther Kellner, *Moonshine: Its History and Folklore* (New York: Weathervane, 1971).

[56] Stella Hryniuk, "A Peasant Society in Transition": 396; Stella Hryniuk, "The Peasant and Alcohol in Eastern Galicia in the late-19th Century": 78.

Prairie historian James Gray noted that, even after prohibition, "among the immigrant populace...distilled liquor from the pot stills of the farms was still preferred to the milder and more expensive Liquor Commission merchandise." [James Gray, *The Roar of the Twenties* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1975): 251.]

While most Ukrainians appeared to be satisfied with the traditional taste of horiwka, some Ukrainian moonshiners chose to add extra potency to their home-brew. Pioneer schoolteacher, Dmytro Prokop, claimed that some bloc bootleggers added formalin and other chemicals to moonshine in order to make it "burn nicely." Prokop lamented the blinding, crippling and poisoning that resulted from the imbibing of such concoctions. [Dmytro Prokop, *Spomyny vchetelia-pionera*

(Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1979): 79.]

Veteran bloc policeman Ted Buchanan confirmed the fact that some moonshiners were selling "bad hooch" in the Ukrainian colony during the 1915-1929 era:

> *What did the damage was that you couldn't tell good liquor from bad....And from that area up there [the bloc], without an exaggeration, I would say that there was one person a month coming into the city on that train--on the line from St. Paul to Edmonton--stone-blind from drinking bad moonshine. And he'd come back the next week in a coffin....The fusel oil in that moonshine is what would kill them--it actually just burned the guts right out of them. At the autopsies that I attended, the stomach was like a massive liver--the lining was completely gone....The fusel oil is what did the damage. They were drinking moonshine right off the tap.* [Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October/3 November 1989).]

Fusel oil and other impurities are found in "the singlings"--the original distillate of moonshine mash. This distillate has to be redistilled to remove these poisons. Deplorably, some bloc moonshiners neglected to complete the necessary two or three distillations required to purify home-brew. Because first-run moonshine had a relatively low alcoholic content, the greedy scamps who sold it usually mixed it with chemicals and other additives to increase its "kick." This practice, of course, only made the unsafe liquor more harmful.

As Orest Martynowych has documented, bad moonshine was not the only injurious drink ingested by the Ukrainian pioneers. Although home-brew was relatively inexpensive to make or buy, other intoxicants cost even less. Broken-down alcoholics among the Ukrainians discovered the cheapest highs in the drinking of ether, horse liniment, wood alcohol, and "Hoffman's Drops". [Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: 98-99.]

[57] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 3 November 1989).

In the pre-Depression Ukrainian colony, weddings were not the only social occasions in which liquor was traditionally served. Hosts offered guests alcohol at christening parties, funeral receptions, and holiday feasts. In the bloc, it was customary to offer visitors spirits as an routine act of hospitality. For example, Iakiw Slemko, a Bukovinian immigrant who settled in the Smoky Lake district, served horiwka to those who stopped in at his farmstead. Slemko poured the home-brew into a single glass which was passed around from person to person until it was emptied or refilled. In the Slemko household, moonshine was generally consumed with creamed cheese, salted backfat and cloves of garlic. [Marie Lesoway, "The Slemko House, Barn and Granary: Narrative History": 194.]

[58] Significantly, the bloc settlement ridings of Whitford, Victoria and St. Paul were among the few Alberta constituencies that voted "wet" in the prohibition referendum of 1915. Ukrainian districts in the Sturgeon, Vermilion and Vegreville constituencies also voted against prohibition. [Frank W. Anderson, The Rum Runners: 7; Edmonton Journal 22 July 1915; Edmonton Bulletin (22 July, 2-3, August 1915); Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: 98-99, 107-108.]

Even before the onset of Prohibition, the unavailability of liquor was probably a key factor in the development of Ukrainian-Canadian moonshining. In the pioneer bloc, making liquor was often more convenient and less time-consuming than buying liquor. Prior to 1916, many Ukrainian settlers in east central Alberta did not have convenient access to a liquor vendor. Not only was store-bought liquor more expensive to purchase than home-brew, but the trip to the nearest liquor store often entailed a journey of several days over poor roads and rough terrain. In 1899, the Old World Ukrainian journal Kievskaia starina sardonically attributed the "loss of traditional customs among Canadian 'Ruthenians'" to the difficulty of procuring spirituous liquor. The journal remarked of the Ukrainian-Canadian pioneer: "Sometimes it happens that he is forced to lose several days before he comes back with it [liquor] from town." [Kievskaia starina volume 66 (1899): 109; as cited in Robert B. Klymasz, "Humour" in Continuity and Change: The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians ed. Manoly Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies: 1988): 183.]

The Ukrainian-Canadian press began to discuss moonshining and bootlegging among the Ukrainian pioneers years before the onset of Prohibition. For example, Apolinary Novak's famous short story "Skonka," a comic tale of a would-be Ukrainian-Canadian moonshiner, first appeared in Western Canada's Ukrainian-language newspapers in 1910. [Yar Slavutych, Ukrainian Literature in Canada (Edmonton: Slavuta Publishers, 1966): 12; Apolinary Novak, "Skonka" in Ukrains'ki pys'mennyky v Kanadi, Tom pershyi, ed. Oleksa Hay-Holowko (Winnipeg: Society of Volyn, 1980): 67-69.]

[59] Demjan Hohol, "The Grekul House: Narrative History" (Edmonton: Alberta Historic Sites Service, 1985): 147-48; Marie Lesoway, "The Slemko House, Barn and Granary: Narrative History": 193-194; Harry Klufas, "Medical History: Incredible but True?" in Memories: Redwater and District, eds. A. Hrynchuk and H. Klufas (Calgary: D.W. Friesen and Sons, 1972): 61.

[60] Samuel Koenig, "The Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia": 528-529.

[61] Demjan Hohol, "The Grekul House: Narrative History": 147-148; Marie Lesoway, "The Slemko House, Barn and Granary: Narrative History": 193-194.

[62] Report of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for the Year Ended September 30, 1925: 30.

[63] W. Swystun, "The Old and the New" in Ukrainian Rural Communities, ed. J.S. Woodsworth: 100; Robert England, The Central European Immigrant: 78-79; Demjan Hohol, "The Grekul House: Narrative History": 172.

[64] Demjan Hohol, "The Grekul House: Narrative History": 192, 194, 223.

Hohol noted that, in the 1920's or 1930's, the Smoky Lake settlers began to allow only wine at prowody, because people had been getting drunk on moonshine and disrupting the memorial services. In reference to the intoxicated troublemakers, one Ukrainian pioneer remarked, "Some people are pigs--not people!" ("Dekotri svyni--ne liudy!")

Items in the pre-1930 press indicate that drunkenness, quarrelling and brawling were problems at prowody in other Ukrainian-Canadian communities. Newspaper accounts also suggest that memorial services in Galicia and Bukovina had been plagued by the same troubles. [See, for example: Ranok (5 June 1912); A.J. Hunter, "I Won't Give Up My Old Ways," Home Mission Pioneer volume VIII, number 9 (November 1912): 120-121.]

[65] A still consisted of a boiler, lid, rectifier (the condenser or "worm"), cooling tank, and receptacle. Ukrainians commonly used a cream or milk can for a boiler, sealed it with a wooden lid lined with bread dough, fashioned a worm from copper coil, ran the worm through a wooden barrel filled with water or snow to cool the vapours, and collected the distillate in a wooden barrel or tub. Moonshiners usually redistilled the distillate to increase its alcoholic content and to remove impurities from it. Most samples of Ukrainian mash analyzed by Dr. Kelso (Alberta's Provincial Analyst during the 1915-1929 era) were mixtures of ground grain, yeast, sugar, and water. The alcoholic content of the moonshine produced by this mash commonly ranged from 40% to 95% (80-190 proof). See: PAA 72.26, item 3712e; PAA 72.26, item 3714e; PAA 72.26, item 8055.

The following account is a pioneer's description of how moonshine was made in pre-1930 east central Alberta:

> *The "still" must be located near a creek, or where fresh cold water was available. The brew [mash] was set in wooden barrels--usually 30 gallons. It consisted of wheat, water, forty to fifty pounds of sugar, raisins and yeast cakes. This was allowed to "work" for five or six days. Then three rocks were chosen, and an eight-gallon cream can was placed on them. The can was filled with the brew, a wooden cover was made for it, with a hole drilled through it in which a copper tube was placed. One end went into the mash, the other end was coiled and passed through a pail of cold water and out into a jug. A fire was built under the can. The mash was heated, steam rose up the tube, and condensed as it passed through the pail of cold water, dripping into the jug. This was known as "moonshine" and was a highly potent drink. It sold for $3.00 a gallon.* ["Making Moonshine (by an Early Pioneer)" in Reflections: A History of Elk Point and District, ed. Mary Bennet (Winnipeg: Inter-Collegiate Press, 1977): 70.]

A typical Ukrainian distillery in the pre-Depression bloc is described in the 1922 case "Rex vs. D. Myroniuk--Inland Revenue Act" [PAA 83.1, middle series files, item 2979].

[66] J. Castell Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1921 (Toronto: The Canadian Review Company, 1922): 830.

[67] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

In 1928, Inspector W.F.W. Hancock of the APP's "A" Division noted that "the foreigners" manufactured moonshine "for their own consumption." [APP Annual Report 1928 (PAA 72.370, item 11a): 17]

A 1923 inspection report for all of the APP's "A" and "B" Division detachments (including those in the Ukrainian colony) reveals that the only "big-time" moonshiners/bootleggers known to the police in central Alberta were Buff Larkin and Pat Lea. Both men operated outside of the bloc. [PAA 79.287, item 10a].

Pioneer memoirs suggest that when Ukrainians became involved in elaborate bootlegging networks they served only as poorly-paid suppliers of moonshine for Anglo-Saxons who resold the home-brew for a handsome profit. [See: "The Western Town: a Bird's-Eye View" in The Pioneer Years: Memoirs of Settlers Who Opened the West, 3rd Edition ed. Barry Broadfoot (Don Mills, Ontario: PaperJacks, 1983): 257; Martin Kenzie, "Crime, Moonshining and Wife Beating" in The Bohdan District (Manville: Manville Reflections, 1979): 45; Erdman Rosnau, "Prohibition" in From Bush to Bushels: A History of Bruderheim and District (Bruderheim, Alberta: Bruderheim Historical Committee, 1983): 224.]

[68] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

[69] T.C. Byrne, 96-97.

[70] Peter Melnycky, interview with Muriel (Reay) Dunn, daughter of APP Constable Bill Reay (Abbotsford, British Columbia, 30 March 1984).

[71] William Chornlesky, Our Green Valley: 72.

[72] Elise Corbet, interview with Dennis Mighall (Edmonton, Alberta, 30 August 1984.

[73] Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 32.

[74] Serge Zolo [Serge Zolotoohin], Sentenced to Adventure: An Autobiography: 168.

[75] So Soon Forgotten: A History of Glendon and Districts (Edmonton: Friesen Printers, 1985): 639.

[76] Frank W. Anderson, The Rum Runners: 17, 27, 43; James Gray, Booze: 198; APP Annual Report 1918 (PAA 72.370, item 1): 38.

[77] Serge Zolo [Serge Zolotoohin], Sentenced to Adventure: An Autobiography: 165-166.

Pioneer accounts affirm that many poor families in the bloc relied on the sale of moonshine to make ends meet. For example, Henia Martyniuk noted that, for the Ukrainian pioneer family of Nicolai Starchuk, "a supplement to the meagre income came in the form of 'home brew.'" Starchuk sold moonshine in the Smoky Lake district to make due during the "lean years" of the early twentieth century. The Ukrainian farmer had a wife and eleven children to provide for. Starchuk's bootlegging sideline was successful until he provided his eldest sons with spirits "to liven up the local dances." This provoked a police raid, a large fine, and the end of distillation on the Starchuk homestead. [Henia Martyniuk, "Nicolai and Wasylena Starchuk" in Our Legacy, History of Smoky Lake and Area (Winnipeg: Inter-Collegiate Press of Canada/Smoky Lake and District Cultural and Heritage Society, 1983): 867.]

[78] One of many cases which reveals this governmental negligence is that of the Vilna district's Werenka family. In 1922, the Deputy Attorney General received a letter from Mary Werenka (the wife of a convicted moonshiner then imprisoned in the Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol). An excerpt from this letter is found below:

> *I had attended the councillors' meeting at Vilna, Alta. and demanded from them relieve [relief] for my starving children and the councillors refused the same. They told me that who ever had arrested my husband and send [sic] him to six months imprisonment let him feed the children.* [PAA 75.126, item 2595a]

As a last resort, Mrs. Werenka begged the Attorney General's Department to provide aid for her children or to let their father out of jail (so that he could "take care of them as he did before he was arrested"). She hoped that, if the department would not help her youngsters, it would at least force Vilna's municipal council to do so. The Deputy Attorney General sent the following response to the distraught Ukrainian woman:

> *This Department has no power to order the release of your husband from gaol, and unfortunate as your situation may be, I am unable to suggest what should be done. Your husband should have realized that he had a wife and family dependent upon him before he committed the offence in respect to which he was committed to gaol....you will have to get along the best you can until his sentence has expired.* [PAA 75.126, item 2595a]

Another case which illustrates the failure of municipalities to provide relief is that of Metro Cebuliak. The Municipality of Smoky Lake refused to support Cebuliak's family after the Ukrainian JP was sent to jail for fraud in the 1920's--even though it was obligated to do so by law. For its part, the Attorney General's Department claimed that it was powerless to force to force the municipality to assist the family. In the end, the Cebuliak family spent a miserable year awaiting the release of its breadwinner. [PAA 72.26, item 4220.]

[79] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

This phenomenon did not manifest itself only in the bloc. In 1919, APP Commissioner Alfred Cuddy made the following statement about liquor cases in all parts of rural Alberta: "In country districts...the local J.P.'s, being generally business men, are loath to try these cases, as it often affects their business interests." [APP Annual Report 1919 (PAA 72.370, item 2): 51-52; see also, APP Annual Report 1920 (PAA 72.370, item 3a): 70.]

On occasion, JPs went so far as to publicly criticize detachment men for bringing violators of the liquor laws into court. Superintendent W.C. Bryan commented on this problem as follows: *"In several instances, Justices of the Peace...have taken the opportunity to censure constables in the presence of the people charged before them. This attitude has a tendency to discourage men who are engaged in this necessary and very disagreeable work."* [APP Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.370, item 4a): 60.]

[80] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

In 1928-1929, five of the seven excise officers in the APP's "A" Division were detachment men from the bloc: Corporal Moses, Constable James, Constable Bill Buchanan, Constable Winnick and Constable Reay. [PAA 75.126, item 1044.]

In 1921, the Superintendent of the APP offered the following explanation for the need to appoint policemen as excise officers:

> *We have many difficulties to contend with in connection with this [Inland Revenue] Act. Federal officers can only lay an information [of complaint] and prosecute, and if members of our own Force were made Inland Revenue Officers we could deal more efficiently and expeditiously with it. By the time an Inland Revenue Officer gets to the place where a still has been reported in operation it has often been moved and the search is abortive.* [APP Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.370, item 4a): 63.]

[81] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

[82] Gerry Dunsmore, interview with W.E. Buchanan (Calgary, Alberta, 28 May 1973).

[83] PAA 79.287, item 10a; PAA 66.166, item 1335.

[84] PAA 83.192, item 647; PAA 83.192, item 593.

[85] In a 1922 letter, the Attorney General of Alberta revealed that the provincial authorities (including the APP) did not consider the suppression of the stills a priority anywhere in the province:

> *We have tried to make it known to the public generally that the Provincial Government has nothing whatever to do with the illicit manufacture of liquor or the suppression of stills. The manufacture of liquor is entirely under the jurisdiction of the Dominion Government and the suppression of the illicit still comes under the Inland Revenue Department of the Dominion Government and is supposed to be*

> *enforced by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who still have a force of over two hundred men in the province....I realize fully that the illicit still is one of the most difficult problems we have to deal with, but until some arrangement is made with the Dominion Government we have to leave this work very much to the Inland Revenue officers.* [Letter of Attorney General to J.W. Boyd, Esq. (Edmonton, Alberta, 28 December 1922): PAA 83.192, item 580/581.]

In fact, in 1920, APP headquarters instructed provincial policemen that it was not their duty to enforce the Inland Revenue Act; responsibility for the act was to be left to the RCMP. Only when a detachment man had "accidentally found a contravention" was he to make an arrest. Under no circumstances were expenses "to be incurred in this connection." [APP "D" Division Annual Report (PAA 72.370, item 3a).]

In 1926, in a confidential letter to the Commissioner of the Alberta Provincial Police, one APP officer stated: *"Whilst writing in this subject of moonshine, I most respectfully draw your attention to the fact that, if we are going to prosecute this illicit manufacture of liquor rigorously, it is going to entail an enormous expense, and to be perfectly free and frank, I do not consider that we have the men to do it with."* [PAA 75.126, item 4583.]

In his annual report for the year 1920, APP Inspector J.S. Piper admitted that "A" Division did not have the resources to combat moonshining in east central Alberta. Piper remarked that "the foreigners" were the worst offenders of the Inland Revenue Act and that "it would require a strong Force to effectively stamp out the illicit manufacture of liquor" among them. The inspector realized that this was not possible. In the end, he doubted that even the deployment of an army of policemen in the bloc could hope to suppress the widespread moonshining there. Piper felt that such a deployment could only prove effectual if the courts were able to impose much harsher penalties on convicted Slavic home-brewers. [APP "A" Division Annual Report 1920 (PAA 72.370, item 3a): 24-25; see also, APP "A" Division Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.370, item 4a): 30.]

When Alberta's lawmen did show an interest in suppressing moonshining and bootlegging, they rarely expended their energies on the east central region of the province. The APP's annual report for 1918 reveals that the police force was far more concerned with the illicit liquor traffic in southern Alberta than it was with bootlegging in the bloc. The APP Commissioner stated, *"The southern part of the province is giving most of the trouble in regard to this traffic--the Lethbridge district, particularly."* [APP Annual Report 1918 (PAA 72.370, item 1): 21.]

Bootlegging in the districts along Alberta's borders--particularly those on the international boundary in the south--received more attention from the police because the cross-border smuggling of booze had political implications for the Alberta and Dominion governments.

[86] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 3 November 1989).

Ted Buchanan maintained that there was little done about the alcoholic indiscretions of members of the APP. He explained this situation as follows: "You had a hard time getting a trained policeman at the time. And just because he liked a little booze once in a while, it was no reason to dismiss him....And, actually, the senior members of the force were like that themselves."

[87] APP Annual Report 1918 (PAA 72.370, item 1): 21.

Of the illicit liquor traffic, the Commissioner of the APP also remarked: "There is so much money in this business that the people engaged in it can afford to pay--and pay well--for information as to the movements of the police."

[88] Report of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for the Year Ended Sept. 30, 1922: 25.

In 1921, APP Superintendent W.C. Bryan made the following comment about the ineffectiveness of the detachment man in suppressing the illicit liquor traffic:

> *Complaints are often received that this constable or that constable is not doing very much to enforce the Liquor Act. The complainant not taking into consideration that his every movement is watched, and it doesn't matter where he is headed on patrol, or whatever direction he may take, some one in that direction is notified to be on the*

*look-out.*" [APP Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.370, item 4a): 61-62.]

Historian Elise Corbet made the following comments about the difficulties of enforcing the liquor laws in the pre-Depression Ukrainian colony: "*Even those in favour of prohibition were reluctant to give evidence concerning violations of the Liquor Act. The police were thus forced to use plain clothes detectives in order to get the necessary evidence. Even then it was difficult as a stranger in the district was immediately suspect and 'the people interested in this traffic maintained an espionage system of their own.'*" ["The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 11.]

[89] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

[90] Cathy Chorniawy, "Luzan Grocery Store: Narrative Report" (Edmonton: Alberta Historic Sites Service, 1986): 22.

[91] APP Annual Report 1919 (PAA 72.370, item 2a): 32.

See, also: PAA 66.166, item 1293; PAA 72.26, item 3437c; PAA 83.192, item 597; PAA 83.1, item 2679.

[92] PAA 72.26, item 3711e.

[93] "Andrew Elock" in So Soon Forgotten: A History of Glendon and Districts (Edmonton: Glendon Historical Society/Friesen Printers, 1985): 485-486.

[94] Marie Lesoway, "The Slemko House: A Narrative History": 194.

One particularly interesting Inland Revenue case which involved a moonshining hired hand is described in PAA 83.192, item 169.

[95] Report of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for the Year Ended September 30, 1932: 27.

[96] "Rex vs. Hnat Mikitka," Crime Report and Criminal Case File, September 1927-January 1928 (PAA 72.26, item 8055); Gerry Dunsmore, interview with W.E. Buchanan (Calgary, Alberta, 28 May 1973); Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 3 November 1989); William E. Buchanan's 1927 Detachment Diary, Glenbow Archives of Alberta, Accession Number: M154.

In a 1922 letter addressed to the Deputy Attorney General of Alberta, Smoky Lake JP Percy Sutton claimed that bootleggers in the bloc commonly carried revolvers and other concealed weapons. [PAA 72.26, item 4317.]

[97] Elise Corbet, interview with Alex Skoreiko (Vegreville, Alberta, 25 October 1984); Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 30.

[98] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 3 November 1989).

[99] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

[100] PAA 72.26, item 3479e; PAA 72.26, item 3480e.

[101] PAA 83.192, item 169.

[102] "Rex vs. Hnat Mikitka," Crime Report and Criminal Case File, PAA 72.26, item 8055.

Gerry Dunsmore, interview with W.E. Buchanan (Calgary, Alberta, 28 May 1973); Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 3 November 1989).

[103] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 3 November 1989).

[104] PAA 75.126, item 952.

Demjan Hohol's "The Grekul House" describes a Ukrainian stool pigeon's search for mash, moonshine and stills in the Smoky Lake district circa 1919. ["The Grekul House: Narrative History" (Edmonton: Alberta Historic Sites Service, 1985): 99-100.]

[105] Elise Corbet, interview with Alex Skoreiko by Elise Corbet (Vegreville, Alberta, 25 October 1984).

For more information about police informers, see: PAA 72.26, item 3715e.

[106] "Strikes His Wife, Pays Fine $10," Edmonton Journal, 9 December 1929.

[107] PAA 83.192, item 313.

[108] Letter of Harry Lopatynsky to Alberta's Attorney General (Radway Centre, Alberta, 24 August 1922): PAA 83.192, item 313.

The Attorney General had received another letter of complaint about Pryjma in April 1922. Ivan Kit, a Ukrainian resident of the Radway Centre district, penned this diatribe. It accused the Ukrainian JP of illegal drinking, gambling, and assault. In the letter, Kit advised the Attorney General as follows:

> *Such a drunkard and gambler you should not keep....it is a shame for the people having such a Justice of the Peace: a gambler....You can take him for yourself and give us a good man, because we don't want a man that would organize others for the purpose of playing cards during the nights.* [PAA 83.192, item 313.]

[109] Letter of H. Dawson and E.C. Darling, Barristers, to the Deputy Attorney General of Alberta (Edmonton, Alberta, 19 September 1922): PAA 83.192, item 813.

[110] APP "A" Division Annual Report 1928 (PAA 72.370, item 11a): 17; APP "A" Division Annual Report 1929 (PAA 72.370, item 12a): 32; PAA 83.192, item 104; RCMP Annual Report 1925: 29-30.

[111] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 3 November 1989).

The charge of vagrancy could be brought against anyone that the police deemed to be "a loose, idle, or disorderly person." According to the criminal code, a "vagrant" was anyone who:

> *a) not having any visible means of subsistence, was found wandering abroad or lodging in any barn or outhouse, or in any deserted or unoccupied building, or in any cart or wagon, or in any railway carriage or freight car, or in any railway building, and not giving a good account of himself, or who, not having any visible means of maintaining himself, lived without employment;*
> *b) being able to work and thereby or by other means to maintain himself and family, wilfully refused or neglected to do so;*
> *c) openly exposed or exhibited in any street, road, highway or public place, any indecent exhibition;*
> *d) without a certificate signed, within six months, by a priest, clergyman or minister of*

> *the Gospel, or two justices, residing in the municipality where the alms were being asked, that he or she was a deserving object of charity, wandered about and begged, or went about from door to door, or placed himself or herself in any street, highway, passage or public place to beg or receive alms;*
>
> *e) loitered on any street, road, highway or public place, and obstructed passengers by standing across the footpath, or by using insulting language, or in any other way;*
>
> *f) caused a disturbance in or near any street, road, highway or public place, by screaming, swearing or singing, or by being drunk, or by impeding or incommoding peaceable passengers;*
>
> *g) by discharging firearms, or by riotous or disorderly conduct in any street or highway, wantonly disturbed the peace and quiet of the inmates of any dwelling-house near such street or highway;*
>
> *h) tore down or defaced signs, broke windows, or doors or door plates, or the walls of houses, roads or gardens, or destroyed fences;*
>
> *i) being a common prostitute or night walker, wandered in the fields, public streets or highways, lanes or places of public meeting or gathering of people, and did not give a satisfactory account of herself;*
>
> *j) having no peaceable profession or calling to maintain himself by, for the most part supported himself by gaming or crime, or by the avails of prostitution.*

The maximum penalty that could be imposed on a convicted vagrant was a $50 fine and a prison term of six months at hard labour. [The Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927 volume I, chapter 36, sections 238-239 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1927): 80-81.]

APP veteran Ted Buchanan noted that the vagrancy law was used quite frequently during the 1915-1929 period. Buchanan remarked, "It was a handy little law for making a policeman's job easier."

In The Canadian Prairies, historian Gerald Friesen maintained that the Prairie police considered vagrancy "a serious crime" during the early twentieth century "because it involved young unemployed males who might become violent." [The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984): 170.] In the Ukrainian colony, detachment men certainly worried about the problems that could be caused by itinerant labourers. In the fall of 1923, for example, Commissioner W.C. Bryan of the APP mentioned that the APP detachments in east central Alberta were expecting "considerable trouble" when the threshing season ended, as there was "such a large number of strange men working in the harvest fields." Bryan commented that, once the threshing crews were paid off, they drifted into the small towns to spend their earnings on drinking and gambling. [PAA 79.287, item 10a.]

For more information about the problems caused by "undesirable characters" in the rural districts of central Alberta, see: APP "A" Division Annual Report 1928 (PAA 72.370, item 11a): 18; Pride in Progress: Chipman-St. Michael-Edna Districts: 81.

[112] PAA 72.26, item 8055.

In the 1930's, former APP detective Bill Elock alleged that irregularities still existed in the policing performed "amongst the foreign elements to the north and east of Edmonton." [PAA 83.192, item 612]

[113] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

[114] Sylvalya Elchen, interview with John Kawyuk (Andrew, Alberta, 17 November 1982).

Dennis Mighall, an APP veteran who worked with Constable Bill Reay, described Reay as a "hair trigger" and "a bit of a wild man." Mighall remembered him as "rough and tough and not adverse to using his fists." He also recalled that the pugilistic policeman was "quite well-liked" despite the fact that some of "his methods may have been frowned upon." [Syvalya Elchen, interview with Dennis Mighall (Edmonton, Alberta, 18 October 1983).]

[115] V.J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada: 327; Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta: 88-89; Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: 60, 71; William Czumer, Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada [1942] trans. Louis Laychuk (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1981): 12-22.

In the early 1890's, John Krebs conversed and corresponded with the Galician villagers of Nebyliw--the founders of Canada's first Ukrainian settlement at Edna-Star. In fact, it was he who encouraged them to homestead in east central Alberta. Krebs became acquainted with the mounted police by providing the Fort Saskatchewan NWMP garrison with hay for its horses. [J.G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli: 80.]

[116] Letter of P.C.H. Primrose, Inspector, NWMP Fort Saskatchewan, to the Commanding Officer of the NWMP (Fort Saskatchewan, 7 January 1898), as cited in V.J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada: 331.

[117] Schlamp's abilities as an interpreter in cases involving Ukrainian immigrants were sometimes called into question. In fact, Judge Debuc was so displeased with his services in the 1927 court case, "Rex vs. Woroschuk et al.," that he had Schlamp dismissed. Schlamp was replaced with "a more efficient interpreter"--Vegreville grocer Abraham Klimoff. [Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 118.]

[118] PAA 66.166, item 1114.

[119] PAA 66.166, item 1114.

Another Ukrainian-speaking German policeman who worked in the pre-1914 bloc was Constable John Anton Shires. He immigrated to Canada from Bukovina in 1905. Shires served in the RNWMP from 1907 to 1912. After a brief period of training at Regina, Saskatchewan, and a short posting at Fort Macleod, Alberta, he was transferred to the Fort Saskatchewan divisional post in east central Alberta. Shires conducted patrols of the Andrew area and surrounding districts from Fort Saskatchewan. When Shires left the RNWMP in 1912, he settled in Lamont. There, he established the Russian Mercantile Store with the help of his Ukrainian partners William Scraba and Michael Bryks. [Reynard Shires, "John and Victoria Shires" in Lamont and Districts: Along Victoria Trail, ed. Elizabeth Carlsson (Calgary, Alberta: Friesen Printers, 1978): 366-367.]

[120] Andrew Historical Society, Dreams and Destinies: Andrew and District (Edmonton: Friesen Printers, 1980): 542.

[121] Elise Corbet, interview with Alex Skoreiko (Vegreville, Alberta, 25 October 1984).

[122] NWMP Report 1892: 85; C.A. MacInnis, In the Shadow of the Rockies (London: Rivingtons, 1930): 114.

[123] Vegreville Observer (5 February 1908): 5.

[124] Vegreville Observer (21 April 1909): 2.

When Ukrainians testified against Anglo-Saxon Albertans, they were rarely treated as credible witnesses. For example, when Mike Murchuk served as a witness for the prosecution at a trial of three Calgary bootleggers, his testimony was discredited on the grounds that he "was an alien" who "wasn't above lying if the need arose." [Frank W. Anderson, The Rum Runners: 26.]

[125] J.G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli: 200-201.

[126] Charles Young, 269-270.

Anthropologist Samuel Koenig affirmed that bribery and perjury were "offenses lightly regarded" by the Ukrainian peasants of turn-of-the-century Galicia. Koenig elaborated upon this assertion as follows:

> *To bribe in one's own interest is even considered a duty to oneself. The popular saying, 'Whoever greases, rides,' is regarded by the people as an undeniable truism and is adhered to whenever possible. Perjury, too, although considered in some measure wrong, may be practised if one takes certain necessary precautions. It is believed that if the person swearing falsely carries a pebble under his arm pit during the act, the resulting punishment will fall on the stone instead of him.* ["The Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia": 523.]

Cases such as "Rex vs. George Kucheran and Gregory Toma--Fabricating Evidence" [PAA 72.26, item 4043] and "Rex vs. Ruptash" [72.26, item 4696] demonstrate that some Ukrainian settlers in east central Alberta were willing to perjure themselves in court, to bribe persons to lie on the witness stand, to induce witnesses to stay out of court altogether, to hire individuals to confess to crimes that they did not commit, and to pay persons to lay false criminal charges against their enemies.

[127] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan by Greg Robinson (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

Several transcripts of court cases from the pre-Depression bloc contain complaints by Ukrainian witnesses about the inaccurate renderings of testimonies by court interpreters. For instance, in the 1922 case "Rex vs. John Stogrin--Carnal Knowledge," the defendant complained "that the interpreter did not tell all that the...witness [plaintiff Mary Dwernychuk] said, and in some instances more than she said." [PAA 72.26, item 3500.]

[128] Letter of George Woolley, JP at Andrew, Alberta, to A.G. Browning, Deputy Attorney General of Alberta (Andrew, Alberta: 2 August 1920): PAA 69.210, item 1550.

For a description of typical problems caused by the unprofessional interpreters of the bloc see: PAA 72.26, item 4317.

[129] Gerry Dunsmore, interview with W.E. Buchanan (Calgary, Alberta, 28 May 1973).

[130] PAA 75.126, item 953.

[131] Zenith Raymond Moisey, "The Moiseys of Andrew" in Dreams and Destinies: Andrew and District (Andrew, Alberta: Andrew Historical Society, 1980): 466.

[132] PAA 83.192, item 211.

[133] Zenith Raymond Moisey, "The Moiseys of Andrew": 464-467.

[134] "John and Maria Stogrin" in Our Legacy: History of Smoky Lake and Area: 869-873.

[135] Mary Pankew, "Metro J. Cebuliak--As I Remember" in Our Legacy: History of Smoky Lake and Area: 340-41.

[136] "Nicholas and Anna Gavinchuk" in Our Legacy: History of Smoky Lake and Area: 344-345.

[137] Eugene Letawsky, "The J. Letawsky Family" in Lamont and Districts: Along the Victoria Trail (Calgary: Friesen Printers, 1978): 295-96.

[138] "Maria and Kosma Chernochan" in Our Legacy: History of Smoky Lake and Area: 360-363.

[139] PAA 72.26, item 4220e; PAA 83.1, middle series files, item 2453.

[140] PAA 72.26, item 3500; PAA 72.26, item 4317; PAA 83.1, middle series files, item 3454.

[141] Vegreville Observer (11 November 1914): 1; Vegreville Observer (20 January 1915): 1. Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta: 312-314; Orest Martynowych, Ukrainians in Canada: 356, 507.

Andrew Shandro finally lost all credibility as a political candidate in 1924 when he was convicted of fraud and sent to prison. [PAA 83.1, middle series files, item 4053; APP Annual Report 1924 (PAA 72.370, item 7a).]

[142] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).

[143] "Crime Report re. G.H. Moisey J.P.--Forgery" (PAA 72.26, item 6565c); PAA 83.1, middle series files, item 4435.

[144] Wasyl Swystun, "The Lamont District" in Ukrainian Rural Communities, ed. J.S. Woodsworth: 89.

[145] "Cheating the Ukrainians" in The Pioneer Years, 1895-1914: Memoirs of Settlers Who Opened the West, 3rd Edition ed. Barry Broadfoot (Don Mills, Ontario: PaperJacks, 1983): 309-310.

This is an interesting account of the activities of the so-called Ukrainian "chiefs" or "bosses" in the pre-Depression bloc. It illustrates how some of the first Ukrainian-Canadian leaders exploited their positions for personal profit. For instance, it notes that Ukrainian businessmen Peter Svarich arranged to have a 10% "interpreter's fee" charged to the grocery bills of Ukrainians shopping at stores in the Vegreville district and to have the revenues from these charges credited to his own accounts. It also relates the story of a Ukrainian chief who pressured schoolteachers to pay him substantial portions of their salaries for the "privilege" of working in his district. [For another account of this practice, see: Maisie Emery Cook, "Memories of a Pioneer Schoolteacher" (N.p.: n.p., 1968): 24.] "Cheating the Ukrainians" attests to the fact that the Galician and Bukovinian immigrants had to contend with the graftage of their own leaders in addition to the swindles of Anglo-Saxons. Most of the Ukrainian JPs who served in the pre-1930 bloc could be described as one-time chiefs--and some proved to be just as unscrupulous as Peter Svarich.

"Cheating the Ukrainians" emphasizes that the source of the Ukrainian chiefs' power was their fluency in the English language. The narrative commented on this fact as follows:

> *...you must understand that English was power. The English language was the one you did business in and to know English, if you*

> *were Ukrainian, that gave you power. And you know what power gives, don't you? Power gives you money. Not the other way around in those days. Money gives power today. In those days, English gave power gave money.*

As the narrator of "Cheating the Ukrainians" recalled, the chief's influence also stemmed from his proven usefulness to Anglo-Canadian officials and businessmen:

> *I've been told by school inspectors, authorities, that this man was a great help to them. He was the go-between and a lot of trouble was avoided if the school authorities, the municipal people, even the police sometimes, worked with the chief. He could often be of great help and I guess he usually was. Give him credit for that.*

[146] PAA 83.192, item 313.

[147] Illia Kiriak, Sons of the Soil [Syny zemli] as quoted in J.G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli: 198.

E.H. Oliver found this viewpoint was widespread among the Ukrainian settlers; in J.S. Woodsworth's 1917 report on Ukrainian rural communities, Oliver noted that "The Ruthenian regards every office holder as a grafter." [Ukrainian Rural Communities: 51-52.]

[148] John-Paul Himka, "The Background to Emigration: Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna, 1848-1914" in A Heritage in Transition, ed. Manoly Lupul (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982): 13, 23. John-Paul Himka, Galician Villagers: 175-189.

For more on bribery in the late-nineteenth-century peasant villages of Western Ukraine, see: John-Paul Himka, Galician Villagers: 151-154.

[149] Samuel Koenig, "The Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia": 517-518.

[150] George Elmore Reaman, "Canadianization of the Foreign Born." Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature Vol. LIX (May 1922-October 1922): 448-49.

In 1918, J.T.M. Anderson made a similar argument in his book The Education of the New-Canadian. He suggested that the Ukrainian immigrants were not fit to vote, let alone hold public offices:

> *The Ruthenians who have settled in Canada are practically all from the peasant class....Owing to this condition the Ruthenians have remained in the peasant class, and have been subjected to burdensome laws, and generally been marked as inferiors. When we consider this we can readily understand why it may be very unwise all of a sudden to thrust into the hands of these people all of the powers and privileges of democracy.*
>
> *Owing to the sudden change from autocracy to democracy; owing to the rapid and thoughtless manner in which we have on a whole-sale plan "made" Canadian citizens of these newcomers; owing to the power we have granted them by the almost eager bestowal of the franchise; owing to this sudden change of conditions the poor illiterate Slavic peasant has become overwhelmed with Canadian "freedom," and it is small wonder that he begins to look rather lightly upon our laws and institutions, and disrespect for law is too often the inevitable result.* [J.T.M. Anderson, 54-55.]

[151] Vegreville Observer (20 July 1908): 5.

In the late 1930's, T.C. Byrne observed that Anglo-Albertans still adamantly opposed the appointment of Ukrainians to public offices--judgeships in particular. Byrne stated, *"No Ukrainian Canadian has ever been appointed to the judiciary. It may be argued that Ukrainians have not yet proved their ability to hold such positions. The fact remains that the appointment of even a capable man would meet with the disapproval of the majority of older Canadians."* ["The Ukrainian Community in North-central Alberta": 93-94.]

[152] PAA 83.192, item 1033. PAA 83.192, item 278.

Although the majority of settlers in the Bellis district, including the members of the municipal council and the U.F.A. local, supported the recommended appointment of John Huculak, the district's Anglo-Saxon minority opposed it. William Buchanan, the area's APP constable, disliked Huculak and informed the APP Commissioner that he would never take a case before the Ukrainian "unless under strict orders from headquarters." Buchanan felt that it was "more gall than anything else" that led Huculak to seek the office of JP. The constable claimed that the candidate had been interned as an "enemy alien" during the Great War and was a known moonshiner. The Anglo-Canadian opposition to Huculak's appointment was supported by one Ukrainian resident of Bellis who wrote a letter to the Attorney General's Department denouncing the candidate as a "Bolshevik leader." Constable Buchanan denigrated the Ukrainians who backed Huculak's nomination by suggesting that Huculak had "a few friends like himself in Bellis" who wanted "to have him try their cases." In the end, J.M. Dechene (the MLA for the Beaver River constituency) and the APP Commissioner sided with the forces opposing the recommendation of the Ukrainian candidate and successfully pressured the Attorney General to reject it.

[153] PAA 83.192, item 659.

[154] PAA 83.192, item 659.

[155] PAA 83.192, item 659.

[156] Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 50-52.

One might relate this trend to a similar trend in school attendance. Rural schools in the bloc that employed Ukrainian teachers had markedly higher rates of attendance than those that employed pedagogues of other national origins. [See: Vegreville Observer (3 September 1913): 4; Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta: 201-224.]

Alex Skoreiko, who assisted Constable Bill Reay with police work in the Andrew district during the 1920's, noted that Gregory Moisey was Reay's preferred JP at Andrew. Skoreiko explained that the constable liked Moisey because he was the most lenient justice of the peace in the district. On a personal level, Reay and Moisey got along very well--according to one account, because the Ukrainian official, like the English policeman, "liked his whisky." [Elise Corbet, interview with Alex Skoreiko (Vegreville, Alberta, 25 October 1984).]

[157] Letter of H. Dawson and E.C. Darling, Barristers, to the Deputy Attorney General (19 September 1922): PAA 83.192, item 313.

[158] Elise Corbet, interview with Lillian Semeniuk (Andrew, Alberta, 18 August 1982).

[159] PAA 75.126, item 822.

Myrna Kostash described the bloc's town constables as "local men with no special training whose job was thankless." Kostash pointed out that the job of municipal policeman "was not the kind of work that endeared" a man to his Ukrainian friends and neighbours. She also noted that the town constable faced a number of dilemmas including: "How do you reprimand or arrest your neighbour?" and "How, on the other hand, do you keep your peace with a disorderly neighbour and still keep the town's good name." [All of Baba's Children: 156-157.]

One pioneer described the qualities required for the job of "town cop" as follows: "All he had to be was big and quick. Most of his work was hauling in the odd drunk on Saturday night and letting him go the next morning...." ["The Western Town: a Bird's-Eye View" in The Pioneer Years, 1895-1914: Memoirs of Settlers Who Opened the West, 3rd Edition ed. Barry Broadfoot (Don Mills, Ontario: PaperJacks, 1983): 256.]

Hauling in the odd drunk sometimes proved to be a very risky business in the townsites of the bloc. In the early 1920's, for instance, when a Ukrainian town constable arrested a man for publicly consuming moonshine in the streets of Vilna, the policeman was assailed by the detainee's drinking companions who rushed out of the pool hall/barber shop to liberate their friend. In the resulting melee, the constable had the top half of his ear bitten off and his cheek sliced up with the barber's straight razor. APP Constable Ted Buchanan, who was called in from the St. Paul detachment to quell the disturbance, recalled that the doctor "had an awful time" patching up the Ukrainian policeman's face, because "it was just stripped--hanging in shreds." [Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).]

[160] APP Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.370, item 4a): 74.

[161] Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police Post at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 38; Syvalya Elchen, interview with Alex Skoreiko (Vegreville, Alberta, 10 September 1983); Elise Corbet, interview with Alex Skoreiko (Vegreville, Alberta, 25 October 1984).

[162] Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 3 November 1989).

[163] The file on Ukrainian policeman Andrew Wilchinski gives

insight into the background of a typical mounted police operative. Wilchinski served as an undercover RNWMP/RCMP special constable for eleven years (1919-1930), spying on Ukrainian miners and socialists in southern Alberta. In a letter dated 18 January 1930, he described himself as a "secret agent" and his employer as the "RCMP Secret Service." Wilchinski spoke fluent Ukrainian, English, Polish, Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian--and a bit of German and Rumanian to boot. The APP engaged the Ukrainian operative as a detective between April and September of 1930. In his letter of application to the APP, Wilchinski wrote, "I never was drunk in my life and never had any trouble with wild women." [PAA 75.125, item 401.]

The first regular policeman of Ukrainian descent to be used in east central Alberta appears to have been Constable Peter L. Zarowny of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police. He was stationed at the RNWMP barracks in Edmonton during the pre-APP era.

[164] A brief history of the ALCB Enforcement Branch can be found in Fifty Years: Alberta Liquor Control Board (Edmonton: ALCB, 1974): 18-19.

[165] "Andrew Elock" in So Soon Forgotten: A History of Glendon and Districts (Edmonton: Glendon Historical Society/Friesen Printers, 1985): 485-487.

[166] Rose Mahdiuk, "George and Alice Federuk: As Narrated by George Federuk" in So Soon Forgotten: A History of Glendon and Districts: 497.

[167] PAA 75.125, item 131.

[168] PAA 75.126, item 4612.

[169] PAA 75.125, item 131.

[170] PAA 75.125, item 131.

[171] Elock was very highly regarded by the detachment men in east central Alberta. APP veteran Ted Buchanan remarked that he was "a very good man" who "worked out very well." Buchanan added, "He was valued in that area [the bloc]. They had to have some Ukrainian plainclothes officers there....He investigated all over, but particularly in the Ukrainian settlement." [Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (Edmonton, Alberta, 17 October 1989).]

In his 1923 Inspection Report, APP Inspector J.S. Piper rated Bill Elock's overall performance as a lawman and Elock's knowledge of police duties as "excellent." Piper stated, "Detective Elock is a first-class plain clothes man, understands and speaks some six or seven languages and has been most successful in all cases detailed upon." [PAA 79.287, item 10a.] The Ukrainian detective repeatedly received high praise from APP Commissioner W.C. Bryan in Bryan's annual reports. In his 1921 report, for instance, the commissioner noted that he "could not speak too highly" of Elock's work on the difficult murder case "Rex vs. Sam Kachur." [APP Annual Report 1921 (PAA 72.370, item 4a): 12.] Interestingly, Elock received a "very good" discharge from the provincial police force in January 1928--even though the APP Commissioner had forced him to resign. [75.125, item 131.]

In the 1940's, J.D. Nicholson, the former Assistant Superintendent of the APP who had worked closely with Bill Elock in the early 1920's, remembered the Ukrainian plainclothesman as "a very able man." [J.W. Horan, On the Side of the Law: Biography of J.D. Nicholson, Formerly Assistant Superintendent of the A.P.P. (Edmonton: The Institute of Applied Art, 1944): 233.]

[172] John Winnick, "Winnick, John Sr. and Eva" in Pride in Progress: Chipman--St. Michael--Star and Districts (Edmonton: Alberta Rose Historical Society, 1982): 797; "Wynnyk, Iwan" in Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography of Pioneer Settlers of Alberta, 1891-1900, ed. Vladimir J. Kaye (Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, 1984): 313.

[173] John Winnick, "Winnick, John Sr. and Eva" in Pride in Progress: 797.

[174] Letter of W.C. Bryan, APP Commissioner, to the Deputy Attorney General, re: Constable W.J. Winnick (Edmonton, Alberta, 6 May 1931): PAA 83.192, item 659.

[175] Letter of APP Commissioner W.C. Bryan to Commissioner H.J. Martin of the Manitoba Provincial Police (Edmonton, Alberta, 24 August 1928): PAA 75.125, item 131.

See also: "Rex vs. Elock," PAA 83.192, item 612.

[176] For example, when Wasyl Syroid of Warwick, Alberta, accused Smoky Lake's Constable William Buchanan of corruption and accepting a bribe in 1922, the police

handled the case in a very different fashion. The APP Commissioner and the Attorney General's Department elected not to proceed with an investigation on the grounds that Syroid was attempting to "get even with Buchanan" because the constable had arrested Syroid's relative for "theft from the mails". [PAA 83.192, item 597.] The establishment could have used the same type of reasoning to dismiss the charges made against Elock in 1927-28. It did not.

In 1929, in a letter to APP Commissioner Bryan, Elock implored, "It would only be doing me justice in the eyes of the public to place me again in the force which I served so well." [PAA 75.125, item 131.] In another letter to Bryan written in the same year, Elock suggested that anti-Slav prejudice was the only factor preventing his reinstatement in the provincial police force. Moreover, he claimed that the APP hierarchy had discriminated against him throughout his entire career as a detective. Elock wrote: *"After serving you during a period of eight years, working on a number of murder cases amongst the foreign element, where the results spoke for themselves, but other officers got the credit for it, and no one know better than Inspector Piper, who at the last moments also was working against me. I am only sorry that I listened to you and Mr. Nicholson to give up my job with the Dept. of Education during the year 1919, and joined the A.P. Police force, under you."* [PAA 75.125, item 131.]

[177] PAA 75.125, item 131.

The story of Elock's meteoric career as a "foreign policeman" was not without parallel in other Ukrainian communities of the pre-Depression West. For instance, William Sulaty had just as dramatic a rise and just as sudden a fall in the Saskatchewan Provincial Police. This Ukrainian-speaking corporal, a self-described "Russian Pole," investigated criminal cases in the Ukrainian colony at Wakaw, Saskatchewan. Sulaty provided the SPP with a number of years of "excellent service" before being dismissed by the force for "infractions of the police act." [Frank W. Anderson, Saskatchewan Provincial Police (Calgary: Frontier Publishing, 1972): 18, 21, 45; Garrett Wilson and Kevin Wilson, Diefenbaker for the Defence (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1988): 2, 31.] Even more fleeting was the career of Ukrainian-Canadian policeman Andrew Wilchinski. He joined the APP as a detective in April 1930 and was fired five months later. [PAA 75.125, item 401.]

[178] In 1928, the officer commanding the APP's Criminal Investigation Branch (C.I.B.) stated that Detective H.K. Shandruk specialized in the investigation of "foreign" cases--just as Bill Elock had done. The officer commented on this role as follows:

> *I have tried to have each member of this office specialize in one or more subjects and in this respect I can say the Branch is gaining efficiency daily. In dealing with settlers from Europe the difficulties of foreign languages have been overcome with the assistance of Detective H.K. Shandruk, who has had a good Canadian education and speaks most of the Russian dialects, and I am convinced that if this detective remains in his present employment for a few years he will be one of the most efficient police officers to be found in any force.* [Annual Report of the APP Criminal Investigation Branch, 1928 (PAA 72.370, item 11a): 1.]

## CONCLUSION

[1] George Elmore Reaman, "Canadianization of the Foreign-Born," The Canadian Magazine of Science, Art, and Literature XIX (May 1922 to October 1922): 446, 450.

[2] Robert England, The Central European Immigrant: 177.

[3] T.C. Byrne, 82.

[4] "Ukrains'ki advocaty v Kanadi," Klenovyi Lyst 1929: 66; Orest Martynowych, The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta: 284-285; P.J. Lazarowich, Ukrainian Pioneers in Western Canada: 64-75; P.J. Lazarowich, "Ukrainian Pioneers in Western Canada," Alberta Historical Review volume XXI, number 4 (1973): 22; Joseph Lazarenko, The Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada (Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association, 1970): 318; Editorial Committee, Ukrainians in Alberta (Edmonton: Ukrainian Pioneers' Association of Alberta, 1975): 65-70.

Alberta's first lawyers of Ukrainian origin appeared in 1920. Pre-1930 Ukrainian barristers who handled cases from east central Alberta included: J.E. Basarab, Emanuel Michailuk, Stephen Sawula, Nicetas Romaniuk and George Skwarok. Basarab, Michailuk and Sawula had offices in Edmonton where they received Galician and Bukovinian clients from the bloc. While still a law student in the early 1920's, Nicetas Romaniuk handled cases from the Ukrainian colony as an agent for Edmonton barrister H.A. Mackie. Romaniuk started his own practice at Smoky Lake in the late 1920's. George Skwarok became the bloc's second resident Ukrainian lawyer when he opened an office at Mundare in 1929.

The clients of the first Ukrainian lawyers were almost exclusively of Ukrainian origin. In 1937, T.C. Byrne observed, *"The lot of professional men of Ukrainian birth in Canadian life is not entirely happy. Forced to bear the fruit of the accumulated prejudice against the Ukrainian, he finds it impossible to practice his profession among Canadians other than his own race....Lawyers almost without exception draw their clientele from the Ukrainian population...the Ukrainian professional man must assure himself of the support of his own race."* ["The Ukrainian Community in North-central Alberta, p.67].

Ukrainian-Canadian writer Myrna Kostash described the first Ukrainian-Canadian lawyers as men "only tolerated (at best) by the majority of Anglo-Canadians." Kostash noted that the Slavic barrister-solicitors derived their power "from the ghetto-ized mentality of 'ethnics' who knew they could not expect a fair deal from non-Ukrainian lawyers." [All of Baba's Children: 229.]

[5] Alberta's first judge of Ukrainian ancestry was Peter Greschuk who became Justice of the Trial Division of the Supreme Court of Alberta. [Editorial Committee, Ukrainians in Alberta: 66; J.G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli: 260; P.J. Lazarowich, "Ukrainian Pioneers in Western Canada": 22.]

[6] Actually, by the onset of the Great Depression, the bloc settlers may have become too eager to make use of the police and the criminal courts.

During the 1890-1925 period, Ukrainian immigrants had made excessive use of the civil courts in Canada. As Orest Martynowych has suggested, this litigiousness may have been a legacy of the immigrants' Old World experience. Martynowych noted:

> *As in the old country, the Ukrainians in western Canada had an insatiable appetite for litigation. In Galicia, for every 10,000 inhabitants, no fewer than 721 in 1904 were involved in minor lawsuits, compared to 366 in Lower Austria and 158 in Bohemia. In Canada litigation continued to be a "Galician disease," as one correspondent observed in 1898. The most costly and drawn-out cases involved disputes over church property. More prevalent, however, were arguments over personal property and wounded pride ("za obrazu honoru")....By 1910 an educated immigrant who gave his countrymen free legal advice lamented that rural settlers from all parts of east central Alberta came daily to Vegreville to lay charges against one another. By 1919 they were flocking to Edmonton in search of advocates ("za hadukatamy"), many of whom merely relieved them of their money.* [Ukrainians in Canada: 94-95.]

During the same period, however, Ukrainians had been very reluctant to seek redress in the criminal courts of their adopted country--for the reasons discussed in the three chapters of this thesis.

This situation began to change in the late 1920's. During this time, Ukrainians began to report more crimes to the police and to initiate a greater number of criminal proceedings against offending parties. The variety of factors which caused this change of attitude have also been discussed in this monograph.

One might expect that the police and the judicial officials of east central Alberta would have been overjoyed by this result. Overwhelmed was more like it. The reporting of criminal cases and the laying of criminal charges increased so markedly in the bloc that the police establishment interpreted these trends as indicators of a dramatic increase in crime in the colony. In his 1929 annual report for the APP Commissioner, Inspector W.F.W. Hancock indicated that crime and law enforcement in east central Alberta had become the major preoccupation of the provincial police force in central Alberta. Hancock noted, *"Our principal crime centre is that District lying in and around Vegreville, where we have a very large foreign population. These people, as you know, are very litigious, and it keeps our men busy handling cases of assault and petty thefts among them."* [APP "A" Division Annual Report, 1929 (PAA 72.370, item 12a): 47.] To help the bloc constabulary meet the increasing demands of policing the Ukrainian colony, Inspector Hancock recommended establishing new APP posts at Two Hills, Mundare, Innisfree, and townsites along the Willingdon-Lloydminster railway. Hancock also advised strengthening detachments at Vegreville, Willingdon and St. Paul. [APP "A" Division Annual Report 1929 (PAA 72.370, item 12a): 39.]

Although the police establishment attributed the greater workload of the bloc constabulary to an increase in criminal activity, others merely ascribed it to the Ukrainian settlers' greater willingness to report crimes and make use of the criminal courts. For instance, Vegreville businessmen Peter Svarich suggested this in an article in the Vegreville Observer:

> *When we think that there are so many of their cases brought up before the courts, it only shows that they have a great respect for the British law and justice and bring all their troubles, grievances, abuses before the courts of the land instead of concealing them, forgiving and forgetting as the others*

*do.*

By 1930, the bloc police probably wished the Ukrainians could have forgiven and forgotten more. Granted, the Slavic settlers had begun to approach the constabulary about the matters which responsible citizens were obligated to. Unfortunately, the Slavic settlers had also begun to drag their petty quarrels into detachment offices and the criminal courts.

While this situation put a strain on justice officials in the bloc, many assimilationalists considered it to be a hopeful sign that the Canadianization of the Ukrainian immigrants was rapidly advancing. Robert England viewed it as a natural consequence of the sudden change from the extralegal (vigilante) justice of a primitive peasant society to the legal justice of a civilized modern state. In 1929, he elaborated on this viewpoint in The Central European Immigrant in Canada:

> *When a relatively high form of civilization has been developed somewhat rapidly or suddenly in a community, involving the discountenancing of private combat in redressing wrongs, people show an exaggerated tendency to have recourse to the law for settling their differences--real or imaginary. The result of a suddenly developed and, more, especially, of a suddenly imposed civilization, is frequently observed in the African colonies of European Powers. In a different sphere, but also as a result of a rapid rise in the level of civic development, was produced the "litigious Athenian."* [The Central European Immigrant: 179.]

[7] RCMP Report 1932: 171-173; Elise Corbet, "The Alberta Provincial Police at Andrew, Alberta: Narrative History": 14-15; Jose Villa Arce, "Alberta Provincial Police Force": 16-19.

[8] PAA 83.192, item 213. Greg Robinson, interview with E.E. Buchanan (November 3, 1989).

Actually, this measure had been recommended to the government of Alberta by Ukrainian immigrant Wasyl Swystun in J.S. Woodsworth's 1917 report Ukrainian Rural Communities. In the document, Swystun made the following comment about the Ukrainian settlers: *"They are, unfortunately, very fond of going to law and will* *waste a great deal of money on small cases and complain all the time about the decisions of local magistrates and justices of the peace. The abolition of justices of the peace and the establishment of a central court would do away with much of this petty quarrelling."* [Wasyl Swystun, "The Old and the New," in Ukrainian Rural Communities: 120.]

In a 1917 letter to Attorney General C.W. Cross, Pakan JP Charles Lawford also expressed his support for the appointment of Police Magistrates in the Ukrainian colony. Lawford suggested that this measure promised "to remedy a very serious condition in the administration of justice by the J.P. courts" in the bloc. He added, *"A man of good character as Magistrate will be much appreciated by the Foreigners here and they will appreciate the Government that appointed him."* [PAA 83.192, item 1039.]

[9] Dr. L.P Jacks, Constructive Citizenship as cited in Robert England's The Central European Immigrant: 187.

George Skwarok, a Ukrainian-Canadian lawyer from Mundare, also advised patience and restraint in efforts to assimilate Alberta's large Ukrainian population. In 1930, Skwarok made the following remarks in a speech to the Edmonton Rotary Club:

> *Assimilation is not to be achieved by force. Force will hinder assimilation for there is always a resistance to force. You open the door and strike hard at it with your fist to shut it, it will hardly move, but push it gently with your finger and see the difference of your experiment. Assimilation is a natural process and cannot be achieved in one generation. It has to take some time. It operates slowly. The best and immediate assimilation consists of accepting and fulfilling the same duties towards the state and receiving the same rights.* [George Skwarok, "Ukrainian Canadians Love Their Adopted Land," Edmonton Journal (18 April 1930): 22.]

The adaptation of the Ukrainian colonists to Canadian laws, policing, and courts is only one chapter in the story of the assimilation of the bloc settlers. All of the chapters of this story, though, unfold in much the same way. For example, there are many parallels between the Ukrainians' adjustment to the Canadian school system and their adaptation to the Canadian justice system. In both cases, the most critical years of the assimilative process were the ones between 1915 and 1929. In both cases, the victory of the assimilators had been ensured by 1930. In both cases, Ukrainian Canadians proved to be pivotal agents of Canadianization. Finally, in both cases, in order to achieve their objectives, governmental officials were forced to employ a "method of procedure" in east central Alberta that was "different from that customary in other rural sections of the province." [Vegreville Observer (18 March 1931): 24.]

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